

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS:

THE ROLE OF A LATIN POET

IN MEROVINGIAN GAUL

by

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This thesis examines the secular poetry of Venantius Fortunatus and the poet himself in the context of Merovingian society. The surveys of the poet's work done around the turn of the century have been overtaken in many points by recent research on particular historical and linguistic questions. This present work attempts to offer a general assessment of Fortunatus, in the light of this recent research, and to answer the more fundamental questions about the poet's place in the Latin literary tradition, his role in Merovingian society and his relationship to his patrons. After a review of the poet's biography and cultural and social context, consideration is first given to poems written in a clearly identifiable genre - panegyric, epitaph and consolation - to assess how Fortunatus uses the traditions he knows, and what the poems reveal about the interaction between the poet and his patrons. The work then continues to consider poems addressed to certain groups of patrons - women, bishops and nobles - to illuminate further Fortunatus' relationship with his patrons, their view of themselves and the poet, the use they make of him and the poet's response to a variety of situations. Throughout the thesis, the detailed observations are drawn together both to define Fortunatus from a literary point of view - his style, technique, his use of tradition -, and also to see him as a poet in Merovingian society - his role and his relationship to his patrons - both at a personal and at a public level.

DECLARATION

I declare that the following thesis on the subject of "Venantius Fortunatus: the Role of a Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul" has been composed by me and represents my own work.

JUDITH WORDSWORTH GEORGE

CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	v
Genealogical table: the Merovingian Royal Family	viii
Preface	1
Chapter one: Introduction	6
Chapter two: Fortunatus' Role as a Poet	66
Chapter three: Fortunatus and the Panegyric Tradition: Poems to Rulers	104
Chapter four: Fortunatus and the Panegyric Tradition: Other Poems of Praise	174
Chapter five: Epitaphs and Consolations	214
Chapter six: Poems to Women	262
Chapter seven: Poems to Bishops	342
Chapter eight: Poems to Nobles	412
Conclusion	463
Notes and references	465
Select Bibliography	541

ABBREVIATIONS

For the sake of convenience the poems of Venantius Fortunatus are cited in the body of the text by book number, poem number and line number in the edition of F.Leo (MGH AA 4): e.g. Poem 6.5.2. In addition the following abbreviations are used:

PRIMARY SOURCES:

CSEL	<u>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</u>
Fortunatus, VM	<u>Vita Martini</u> , ed. F. Leo (MGH AA 4)
Gregory, HF	<u>Historia Francorum</u> , ed. W.Arndt (MGH SRM 1)
Paul the Deacon, HL	<u>Historia Langobardorum</u> , ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz (MGH SRL)
MGH AA	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores</u> <u>Antiquissimi</u>
MGH SRL	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum</u> <u>Langobardarum et Italicarum Saec.VI-IX</u>

MGH SRM Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum
merovingicarum

PL Patrologia latina

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représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule
mérovingienne (Paris 1927)

CLUDIO

—
MEROVECH d.456

—
CHILDERIC d.481

—
CLOVIS d.511

—
1. concubine 2. m. Clotild

THEUDERIC Ingomer
d.534
—
CHLDOMER d.524
—
CHILDEBERT I d.558
—
LOTHAR I d.561
—
Clotild m. Amalaric the Visigoth

THEUDEBERT THEUDEBALD
d.548 d.555

—
Guntar Childeric

—
CHARIBERT
d.567

—
m.1. Ingoberg

—
2. Merofled

—
3. Theudechild

—
4. Marcovefa

—
GUNTAM
d.593

—
m.1. Veneranda

—
2. Marcatrude

—
3. Austrichild

—
SIGIBERT
d.575

—
m. Brunhild

—
d.613

—
CHILPERIC
d.584

—
m.1. Audovera

—
2. Galswinth

—
3. Fredegund
d.597

—
Theudebert Merovech Clovis Basina

—
Lothar Chlodomer
d.577

—
d.577

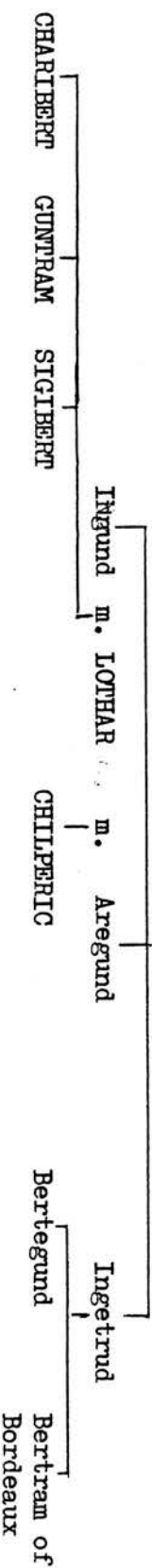
—
CHILDEBERT II
d.595

—
Ingund Chlodosind

—
Samson Rigunth

—
LOTHAR II
d.629

THE RELATIONSHIP OF BISHOP BERTRAM OF BORDEAUX TO THE MEROVINGIAN ROYAL FAMILY



PREFACE

Fortunatus is a poet who has provoked decided critical reactions. For Dill, he is "a decadent alike in style and morals" (1). Koebner considered his work on a par with the music of Satie, poésie d'ameublement (2). Laistner, too, speaks of the poet as a "facile troubadour" (3). In contrast, Curtius' assessment was that Fortunatus was one of the most important literary figures of the Dark Ages (4), a view echoed more recently by Szövényfi (5).

Mommsen decided to include the complete works of Fortunatus in the Auctores Antiquissimi section of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica on the grounds that the poems contained material which would be of use to historians of the period. Though only a limited number of poems seemed to be of direct relevance to a historian, Mommsen believed that the assessment of relevance could only be made on the basis of a knowledge of the entire work of the author (6). The complete works were thus made available, the text being edited by Leo, Manitius adding the indices on Fortunatus' relation to earlier and later writers. In the event, the work has been used somewhat piecemeal by historians, the most systematic attempt to relate Fortunatus' poems to the history of the period being the recent excellent study by Brennan on the bishop and the community in the poetry of Fortunatus (7). The body of work has also been used in similarly selective fashion by scholars as a source of material on hagiography, hymn-writing and the development of monasticism in this period. Aigrain's article on

Fortunatus, for example, is an offshoot from his main work on Radegund (8), and Fontaine considers the poet in the context of the politics of hagiography (9).

Caron and Nisard produced the earliest modern assessments of the poet, Nisard also making the first translation of a selection of his poems (10). The foundations for most subsequent work, however, were soundly laid by Meyer's monograph in 1901 which gave a thorough review of the manuscript tradition, the compilation of the books of poems in their present form, and the dating and historical context of each poem (11). From that starting point, Koebner and Tardi developed a more detailed critique of the poems, Tardi also continuing the work begun by Manitius on Fortunatus' latinity (12).

These works, and especially those of Meyer and Tardi, still remain of great value but have been overtaken in many points by later research in particular historical or linguistic areas. Little detailed work has been done recently on Fortunatus' poems, apart from that by Rogers and Steinmann on selected works (13). The poet's place in the development of Latin literature has been illuminated by the work of Blomgren in particular in his documentation of the influence of earlier writers on Fortunatus, and by the work of Manitius, Clerici, Davis and Navarra on this subject (14). Tardi, Blomgren and Meneghetti have documented in detail the nature of Fortunatus' latinity (15).

More recent accounts of the poet - those of Szövényfy and Langosch, for example - have set Fortunatus in the general context of the literature of the period, in the light of modern historical and literary scholarship (16). But there have been few attempts to reach a detailed assessment of the poet's role and technique at a level beyond

that of the documentation of literary borrowings or linguistic mutations. The analyses of Steinmann and Davis on the consolation for Galswinth, Poem 6.5, are two of the few ventures in this direction (17).

There is no doubt that Fortunatus is an important literary figure. He was the only major Latin poet of his generation in Merovingian Gaul, he produced a considerable literary output in a wide variety of genres, and was associated in his writing with many of the important political events and figures of his age. The period is one of cultural transition, a strong tradition of Romanitas still remaining amongst the Gallo-Romans and being assimilated with enthusiasm by the Franks. The impact of a poet of Fortunatus' calibre and vigour can be expected to be considerable on a public with literary aspirations, susceptible to a representative of the Roman literary tradition. Even two generations later in Gaul the grandson of Dynamius, a Provençal noble for whom Fortunatus wrote two poems, composed an epitaph for his grandparents, verbally echoing the poet's work, clearly in pride at their association with a poet of such stature (18). But Fortunatus remained a literary exemplar for writers further afield than Gaul and for many generations after his lifetime. He influenced writers not only in Gaul, but also in Anglo-Saxon England and Ireland well into the Middle Ages, in the same way that he himself was influenced by Vergil, Ovid and other earlier writers (19).

Henry James said that the work of second rate writers was interesting, a high commendation from such a source. It has never been suggested that Fortunatus is more than that. But the strongly adverse criticisms

of the poet appear on examination to be based on anachronistic presuppositions about the nature of poetry, or upon a confusion between moral and literary values. The interest of Fortunatus lies largely in the interaction between the poet and his social and cultural context. He is without doubt a Gelegenheitsdichter. Without that dimension, only a small number of the poems might be singled out for their intrinsic merit (20). The purpose of this thesis is to consider what is meant in Fortunatus' case by a Gelegenheitsdichter, and to build upon the basis of the historical, biographical and linguistic work already done on individual aspects of Fortunatus' work in an attempt to assess the poet's role and work in Merovingian Gaul. This is not a textual analysis or commentary on the poems, but an analysis of them in terms of their technique seen in their particular historical context. Given that the poet is writing within the Latin literary tradition in certain genres, how precisely does he use that tradition? what effect is he seeking? is the effect always the same, as one would expect of a poète d'ameublement, or can one distinguish different literary techniques and intentions in different circumstances? The question can also be asked, what role is the poet playing and how he himself saw his work? The answers to these questions also inevitably throw light on the way in which his patrons and friends viewed themselves, and upon attitudes to literature and education in Merovingian Gaul. Mommsen's decision to include Fortunatus and all his work in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica thus appears well justified. In answering these questions, which is only possible with the full body of Fortunatus' work to hand, light is thrown not only upon the poet himself and the purely literary aspects

of his work, but also on an important aspect of the cultural history of the period.

I must express my very deep gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. A.B.E.Hood, to whose unfailing patience, encouragement and creative criticism the completion of this thesis is due. My daughters, Catharine and Felicity, too deserve special thanks for their support and interest in my work, and tolerance of this extra member of the household for many years.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 566 the Frankish court at Metz saw the celebration of the wedding of King Sigibert to the Visigothic princess, Brunhild. This was seen, and was intended to be seen, as an extraordinary occasion. Sigibert had chosen not to follow the example of his brothers in a confused series of polygamous unions but to contract instead a prestigious dynastic alliance with the daughter of the Spanish king, Athanagild. The princess was duly escorted to Metz in great splendour and the wedding celebrated with a grand banquet for all the leading men of Sigibert's kingdom (1). The style and aspirations of this event in themselves singled out Sigibert among his generation of the Merovingian royal family. But what made the occasion even more extraordinary was the fact that the wedding was celebrated by the declamation of a full-blown Latin epithalamium. Clovis had received his consular purple; Sigibert was hymned as the Emperor Honorius had been.

The arrival in Gaul of the Italian poet, Venantius Fortunatus, could not have been arranged to make a greater impact. He was brought dramatically to the attention of the Merovingian notables, Frankish and Gallo-Roman, courtiers and ecclesiastics, with the cachet of royal approval. No better opportunity could have been provided to win Merovingian patronage.

A general outline of Fortunatus' career, both before his arrival in Gaul and during the long years he lived there, can only be pieced together from a few direct comments the poet himself makes, from scattered and indirect evidence in his poems, and from later, secondary sources. The object of this chapter is to establish that outline and to set the context - social, political and cultural - within which he lived and worked. Once this context has been established, the individual poems or groups of poems can be analysed and interpreted within their immediate setting. It is important to consider the traditions of the various literary genres Fortunatus uses, the poet's own training in them and the extent to which they would be intelligible and familiar to a Merovingian audience. It is also important to consider the social, political and military aspects of the society within which he was working, insofar as these set the context for his poetry. Only then can individual poems be analysed and assessed in their immediate context.

1. Family background and early career

Our only source for the poet's early life and family history is the comment Fortunatus himself makes on the subject. The other apparent source, the short chapter on Fortunatus in Paul the Deacon's History of the Lombards (2), derives entirely from Fortunatus and adds no independent information.

Little can be deduced about the poet's family. He briefly mentions a brother, sister and nephews (3) and elsewhere implies that his

sister's name was Titiana (4). The poet's name is given in full by the medieval manuscripts as Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus but these names in themselves are of little significance in the absence of precise information about family connections.

There are a number of Venantii known to us from late antiquity and they held distinguished office. One Venantius, consul in 507, was related to Ennodius (5). Another was Corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum under the Goths (6). Cassiodorus' Variae gives a Venantius as being guardian to one Plutianus (7). Venantius, patricius of Sicily, corresponded with Gregory the Great (8). But any connection between these and the poet's family is purely speculative.

The cognomina yield as little information. The only Honorii known are those of the imperial family of Theodosius. The absence of comment on such an illustrious connection would imply its non-existence. The only Clementianus known to us is a Roman senator of the late fourth and early fifth century who is possibly the father of Appius Nicomachus Dexter (9). Both the name and the connection here with the poet are obscure. Finally the signum, Fortunatus, recalls the martyr saint of Aquileia, a saint widely venerated in the country round the poet's birth place. Fortunatus' own mention of this saint amongst those dear to him and venerated in Aquileia (10) and the fact that he styled himself by this name suggest that this spiritual connection had more significance for him than any secular connections, however grand (11).

Fortunatus tells us himself that he was born at Duplavis, near Tarvisium (Treviso) in Venetia (12), a place which may have been either a village or an estate. Conjectures on his date of birth range

from about 530 to about 540, but the date cannot be fixed with any degree of accuracy (13). Tardi suggests that the family were middle class landowners who later took refuge in Aquileia because of the general insecurity in the area around Treviso after the death of Theoderic (14). This picture seems questionable on various grounds. Tardi's chronology is vague. He appears to imply a move in connection with Theoderic's death in 526 and yet suggests Fortunatus' date of birth in Duplavis as 530. The one battle recorded near Treviso at this period took place in 540 between the Gothic king, Ildibad, and the Byzantine officer, Vitalius (15). But the 530s were a period of great upheaval and turmoil in general for northern Italy, the fighting between the Romans and the Goths being further complicated by the involvement of the Franks. Aquileia, as Tardi himself says, was the focal centre of many routes and must have been as unsettled and precarious as Treviso.

The source of Tardi's conjecture is Fortunatus' mention of a Bishop Paul of Aquileia and the bishop's recommendation that he should enter the religious life (16). The name Fortunatus also suggests a link with the cult of that saint in Aquileia, as does Fortunatus' mention of the martyr in the same couplet as the reference to Paul. But neither of these points proves that the poet must have lived in the town or had more than a good acquaintance with it. There is no real evidence for the monastic education in Aquileia suggested by Tardi (17). On the contrary, the poet seems to look back on Duplavis as his childhood home, rather than a place where he was born and lived for a year or so before the family moved on. Furthermore, he writes of Felix, a friend from his youth, between 573 and 576. Felix has returned home to

Treviso after studying at Ravenna and Fortunatus sends him greetings (18). Felix has stayed on there even in the face of the later Lombard invasion and, as Bishop of Treviso, protected his church and gained a royal diploma from King Alboin guaranteeing protection (19). If Felix could stay in Treviso in spite of the unrest, there is no reason why the poet's family should not have done the same. The evidence therefore seems to favour the family's continuation at Duplavis.

2. Education at Ravenna

Having provided Fortunatus with a monastic education in Aquileia, Tardi then has to explain why he should break this commitment to transfer his studies to Ravenna. If we remove this presupposition, there is no need to resort to the level of the worldwide upheavals of the schism of the Three Chapters Tardi gives as the reason for this move (20). Ravenna would seem, even in the post-Theoderic era, an attractive centre for an able and ambitious young man. The tradition of a classical, secular education still persisted in Italy at this time (21). Fortunatus says of his own education:

Parvula grammaticae lambens refluamina guttae,
rhetorici exiguum praelibans gurgitis haustum,
cote ex iuridica cui vix rubigo recessit.

(Vita Mart. 1, 29-31)

(Sipping a few tiny drops from the waters of grammar, taking a small draught from the stream of rhetoric, I have scarcely

had my rusty edge sharpened by the whetstone of law).

Gregory of Tours too speaks of Fortunatus' rhetorical training (22) and the comment is repeated by Paul the Deacon (23). There is no reason to suppose that Fortunatus' reference to a humble level of attainment is anything but a self-deprecatory modesty topos, offered in the spirit of that same rhetorical tradition (24). Fortunatus makes similar token gestures elsewhere, usually by way of preface to the more elaborate set pieces (25).

It is clear, however, from the evidence of the poems themselves that Fortunatus was provided with the general education leading to a career in law or letters and that he prepared for a career as a professional poet. His works include poems in the genres of consolatio, epithalamium and panegyric, as well as shorter poems which are no less skilful for being informal. These poems reveal a freedom in handling the genres, in adapting them for particular circumstances, in serious vein or in parody, that implies more than a merely mechanical mastery of technique.

His metre in his secular work is usually the hexameter/pentameter couplet, though he is able to move, for example, into "sapphic" verse for Gregory of Tours (Poem 9.7). The work of Max Manitius and, more recently, the Swedish scholar, Sven Blomgren, has illustrated Fortunatus' familiarity with the major Latin poets, pagan and Christian. Manitius' index to the MGH edition of Fortunatus' poetry, for example, shows the direct influence of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Statius and Martial, amongst others (26). As will be seen in the detailed analysis of particular poems, there is often also a

deliberate evocation of, for example, a Vergilian pastoral scene, even when there is no direct verbal echo. Claudian was also a strong influence on the poet, in his treatment of the genres of panegyric and epithalamium, for example, as well as in the details of words and phrases (27). Fortunatus was also familiar with Arator's Acta Apostolorum and with the works of other Christian poets - amongst others, Paulinus of Nola, Paulinus of Périgueux, Prudentius and Sedulius (28). The poet explicitly states in the Vita Martini that he is writing in the established tradition of Christian poetry (29). Again, detailed analysis of poems shows a more general influence beyond individual verbal echoes.

A few words of Greek in the Vita Martini and elsewhere suggest that Fortunatus gained an elementary knowledge of that language in Ravenna. Such literary terms are supplemented by a knowledge of some Greek philosophers and poets. But there is no reason to suppose that his knowledge extended beyond these basic items or that he read such works in the original language (30). Though there was a general understanding and use of Latin amongst the educated classes in Gaul, Fortunatus no doubt had a working knowledge of the Germanic language from long residence in the country. The occasional Germanic word is introduced into his poems in conscious recognition of the bilingual culture of the court (31). Though there is no evidence to suggest that the poet was fluent in any language other than Latin, he has yet been observed to indulge in erudite and imaginative flights of fancy in the creation of new words or new forms of words which echo roots in Latin, Greek and Germanic (32).

It has generally been taken that the first two poems in the

collected works, Poems 1.1 and 2, date from the poet's time in Ravenna and are examples of his early work there. The titles given to the two poems make this attribution: Ad Vitalem episcopum Ravennensem and Versus de templo domni Andreae quod aedificavit Vitalis episcopus Ravenennsis. There is, however, no record of a bishop Vitalis in Ravenna. The great Archbishop Maximian reigned from 546 to 556 and his successor, Agnellus, held the office from 557 to 570. There is the added complication that there appears from the internal evidence of the poem to be a second un-recorded bishop of Ravenna referred to here, Bishop John (Poem 1.2.25). The first poem addresses Vitalis as founder of the church of St. Andrew (line 6), the second speaks of John as being instrumental in installing the holy relics in the church at the instigation of Vitalis (line 25). The poems therefore seem to deal with the two bishops who are absent from the Ravennan bishop lists. As Meyer and Koebner have observed, in several cases the titles of the poems do not seem to be original (33). The titles of these two poems may therefore be pure conjecture on the part of a scribe who combined deduction from the text with the knowledge that Fortunatus had once studied in Ravenna.

Once the direct identification with Ravenna is set aside, Vitalis and John can be sought as bishops elsewhere. Theories so far have concentrated on the identification of Vitalis. Giuseppe Cuscito has argued that Vitalis may be an Orthodox bishop of Istria living in Pola (34). But there is no substantial evidence for the episcopate of this bishop or for the foundation of the church of St. Andrew there. Koebner, more convincingly, has proposed that this bishop is Vitalis of Altinum, a small town near Treviso (35). Paul the Deacon notes that

Vitalis was bishop until about the time of Justinian's death and Justin II's accession in 565 (36), at which time he was sent into exile. Brennan develops this thesis with the suggestion that it was Vitalis who not only acted as Fortunatus' first patron, as Koebner had supposed, but also was a correspondent of Nicetius of Trier and responsible for giving the poet the letters of introduction to Nicetius and other bishops which launched him on his career in Gaul (37). The downfall of his patron could also be interpreted as a good reason for Fortunatus to leave Italy and make for Gaul.

This theory is neat and attractive. The detail given by Paul the Deacon, however, raises doubts about its validity. Paul says:

His quoque temporibus Narses patricius, cuius ad omnia studium vigilabat, Vitalem episcopum Altinae civitatis, qui ante annos plurimos ad Francorum regnum confugerat, hoc est ad Agonthisensem civitatem, tandem comprehensum apud Siciliam exilio damnavit.

(At this time also Narses the patricius, alert to all events, finally captured Vitalis, Bishop of Altinum, who had fled *very many years before* to the kingdom of the Franks, to the city of Aguntum, and condemned him to exile in Sicily).

The reference is presumably to Narses' last campaign in north Italy, which started in 562. That Narses "finally captured" Vitalis suggests that the bishop had been elusive and had not been merely sitting in Treviso after returning from the Franks. The sojourn in Aguntum may

have lasted until immediately before this date. Vitalis may still have been travelling among friends and sympathisers to avoid capture. It certainly seems unlikely that he had been resident sufficiently peacefully for a long enough period in Treviso to build a church.

It would seem, then, that this identification should be rejected. Given that the titles are probably a scribe's guesswork, the two bishops in question could be Gallic as easily as Italian. There are no obvious candidates in Gaul at this time, but the bishop lists are sufficiently fragmentary to allow for two otherwise unknown bishops in succession at this period. The dedication to Gregory of the collection which these poems introduce and the proximity of the poems to the dedication might suggest that the poems would be of special significance to him. The introductory poem to the second collection, Poem 8.1 ad diversos ex nomine suo, introduces the reader to Radegund and the community at Poitiers, before the book continues with other poems about the convent of the Holy Cross. We might then conjecture that the see concerned is one connected with Gregory or with his family, though there is not sufficient information recorded to make a positive identification.

Though it may be difficult to find an alternative identity for Vitalis, it would seem from the consideration of these two poems that there is no firm evidence here for Fortunatus' early career in Ravenna. He may well have written for a patron at that stage but this patron cannot be identified with any certainty with a bishop in Italy, either in Ravenna or in Altinum.

3. The journey to Gaul

The earliest certain date for Fortunatus' work in Gaul is set by his writing the epithalamium for Sigibert's wedding in Metz in 566 (38).

How and why he arrived there at that time is not so certain.

Fortunatus himself gives two versions of his journey which give rather different answers to these questions. In the preface to the first collection of Poems, addressed to Gregory of Tours and written some time in or shortly after 576 (39), Fortunatus sketches the geographical rigours of his route and portrays himself in the guise of a wandering minstrel -

ubi inter barbaros longo tractu gradiens aut via fessus aut
crapula, brumali sub frigore, Musa hortante nescio gelida
magis an ebria novus Orpheus lyricus silvae voces dabam,
silva reddebat.

(Praef.4)

(When I wound my long way among the barbarians in the chill of
~~winter~~, worn with travel and hangovers, inspired by a Muse who
was as frozen cold as she was drunk, I sang my song to the
woods and the woods echoed back my words - a lyric poet, a
second Orpheus).

At the end of the fourth book of the Vita Martini, Fortunatus' metrical adaptation of Sulpicius Severus' prose version of the life of the saint, the poet gives an account in reverse order of his journey to Gaul (lines 640-679). His motive he gives there by

explaining that he was cured of blindness by the intervention of St. Martin in the church of St. John and St. Paul in Ravenna (40) and that his crossing of the Alps was a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin of Tours in thanksgiving, which took him to various other shrines en route. This account was written slightly earlier than the Preface of the poems, addressed to Gregory, probably in the first years of Gregory's rule as bishop of Tours; that is, some time in 573/574 and certainly before 576 (41).

The itinerary itself can be traced in outline as follows:

Fortunatus crossed the Po, went through Patavium (Padua), Concordia (Concordia) and along the Via Claudia Augusta to Aquileia. He then crossed the Teliamentus (Tagliamento) and traversed the Carnic Alps by the Plochen Pass (42). His description makes it clear that the Aguntum he passes by was not the town in the Linz valley but the fifth century hill town of Fliehbürg (43). He then continued along the valley of the Drau, the castella he mentions in line 649 being the fifth century defences built by the inhabitants of Noricum against barbarian attack (44). From here he crossed the Raetic Alps by the Via Vipitena to the River Aenus (the Inn) near Veldidena (Innsbruck) and reached Augsburg on the Licus (the Lech), where he visited the shrine of St. Afra. Thence he travelled west to cross the Hister (the Danube) and reach the Rhine, probably arriving finally in Metz by the route through Mainz, Bingen and Trier and along the Moselle.

This itinerary, given in detail in the Vita Martini and in more general terms in the Preface, is repeated in Paul the Deacon's account, Fortunatus' motive being stated there as a desire to make a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the shrine of St. Martin. This

interpretation has been accepted by some scholars, whilst others have taken the more sceptical view that the visit to Tours was little more than a pious pretext, giving a spiritual veneer to his motives for the benefit of the readers of a devout hagiography (45).

The two motives are not incompatible. The itinerary and the length of time it took Fortunatus to reach Tours weigh against the thesis that the motive of the pilgrimage was the only one. A more direct and rapid route to Tours than the one he took would have been through the Cottian or Graian Alps, up the Rhone valley to Lyons, through the Auvergne to the Loire valley (46). Instead he took the longer, more northerly route, was in Metz in 566 and, on the evidence of the Vita Martini, travelled via the shrines of St. Medard at Soissons, St. Remigius at Reims and St. Denis at Paris, to arrive in Tours finally in 567.

If the religious reason were only part of Fortunatus' motivation, the question must be asked why he went to the Austrasian court at Metz and why he received such a favourable reception there. The suggestion made by Brennan is attractive (47). He suggests that the poet had formed strong ties with episcopal circles in Gaul whilst he was still studying in Ravenna. Nicetius of Trier is shown by letters in the Epistolae Austrasicae collection (48) to have strong connections with Milan, Turin and even with the Byzantine court. Nicetius was also known to, and venerated by, Gregory of Tours, who became one of Fortunatus' closest friends. Gregory wrote a Vita Nicetii and an account of the miracles performed at the bishop's tomb (49). Abbot Aredius of Limoges, the source of Gregory's information about Nicetius, and also the recipient of verse from Fortunatus, was a

disciple of Nicetius (50). Nicetius, therefore, appears to be a very likely link between Fortunatus in Italy and the friends he made in Gaul. Brennan suggests that as Fortunatus' earliest contacts in Gaul are with bishops - Nicetius of Trier, Sidonius of Mainz and Villicus of Metz - he probably travelled armed with letters of introduction at least to Nicetius from a local Italian bishop. One of the most constant characteristics of bishops praised by Fortunatus is hospitality; and the poet in his turn later provided others (in one case, an Italian) with his own letters of recommendation to bishops along their routes (51). Brennan's suggestion that it was Bishop Vitalis of Altinum who wrote the letters of introduction for Fortunatus is a less plausible suggestion, for the reasons given.

However, these two aspects of Fortunatus' travels - the religious motivation of a pilgrimage and the practical consideration of letters of introduction - may be combined to explain why he went to the court of Nicetius of Trier soon after his arrival in the Frankish kingdom. St. Martin had been a frequent and honoured guest at the court of Valentinian at Trier. There he performed several healing miracles and also effected the impressive conversion of the proconsular Tetradius. In Trier, by the time Fortunatus arrived, there was a church of St. Martin, said to have been founded after the conversion of Tetradius (52). Fortunatus visited the shrines of other saints on his journey north, as he records himself. His first aim in arriving in Austrasia may well have been to visit the scene of such important events in St. Martin's life, especially if he were armed with a letter of introduction to the present bishop. From that point, the poet could well have been caught up by the general convergence of Sigibert's

kingdom on Metz for the royal marriage (53). The somewhat indirect route to Tours is thus understandable.

The two accounts of his reasons for coming to Gaul, then, - the devotional one of a pilgrimage and the more professional and literary one implied in the Preface to Gregory, - may both be true. The accounts were written at about the same time but, as we shall see, Fortunatus has a striking ability to adapt a subject to particular circumstances. A frivolous, literary touch would not have been appropriate in the final section of a religious work written for public declamation. On the other hand, whilst Gregory was Fortunatus' patron in the conventional sense, he clearly had a great respect, if not awe, for Fortunatus as a poet and literary figure. To dedicate to the bishop a substantial body of new works, the like of which had not been heard in Gaul since the time of Sidonius Apollinaris, and to reflect the delicate balances of their relationship, needed a preface with a light touch. Fortunatus provided this admirably with a self-deflatory introduction depicting himself as a bumbling, beer-sodden bard, whilst speaking of Gregory with deferential respect.

4. Merovingian Gaul in Fortunatus' time

a. The political and military background

The lengthy and successful career of a Latin poet amongst the Franks, a poet moreover who was not even a Gallo-Roman, raises questions about the social and political background to his work. Fortunatus finds

patrons and friends in Frankish as well as Gallo-Roman circles and at the highest level. He declaims publicly to and on behalf of kings, queens and bishops, he writes to further the diplomatic ends of patrons with interests as far afield as Byzantium.

Such widespread activity requires a cultural setting in which it was possible to advance personal and political purposes by the traditional Roman literary means of a panegyric, an epithalamium, or a poem in whatever genre was appropriate to the circumstances. This in turn presumes a certain level of literary sophistication amongst the higher levels of Merovingian society, Frankish and Gallo-Roman. It is important, therefore, to assess the constraints set on Fortunatus' use of traditional genres by the education of his patrons and audiences, and the extent to which features of his work reflect the limits of the listeners rather than of the poet, and the way in which he reflects and adapts his writing to groups and individuals. The first question to be asked, therefore, is what level of education and literary activity was to be found in Gaul at this time?

Much of Fortunatus' writing is for public declamation: panegyrics, the epithalamium, probably the encomia on bishops and buildings. Other pieces are poems or epistles sent for specific diplomatic or political purposes: the poem to Justin II and Sophia in Byzantium in thanks for the relic of the True Cross (Appendix 2) and the letters to Bishop Martin of Braga (Poems 5.1 and 2), for example. These poems reflect an active contribution to a particular situation. To establish the pattern of Fortunatus' work - whom he writes for and why - the larger historical context is necessary. Even personal poems, such as the welcome to Fortunatus' Saxon friends, Sigismund and Alagesil, when

they come to Poitiers (Poems 7.20 and 21), are occasioned indirectly by large scale political and military events. The second question, then, is what is the historical context of Fortunatus' poems?

To a certain extent, the historical development of the Merovingian kingdom and events there in the latter half of the sixth century, the wider context of Fortunatus' work, provides a basis for an answer to the first question. The long period of contact between the Romans and the Franks before Fortunatus' time shows an overall pattern of infiltration and assimilation of the Franks, with the survival of many of the familiar features of Roman culture. The kings established their capitals in cities which had been important Roman centres. Their administration was staffed largely by the same Gallo-Roman families who had run the Roman administration. Latin was the language of government, the officials were known by Roman titles such as dux and comes. At the same time the Gallo-Romans also contributed substantially to the leadership and administration of the alternative power structure in Gaul, the church (54).

The origins of the Franks are obscure but lie most probably in Scandinavia. Gradually moving south over a long period of time, they first came into contact with the Romans in the third century A.D., when they began to cause trouble in Gaul from a base somewhere on the middle or lower Rhine. In the fourth century many were employed as auxiliaries in the Roman army. Already the able and ambitious saw the advantages of Romanisation, and rose to positions of power under Constantine and Constantius II. In the fourth century, Merobaudes, Richomer and Bauto even gained the consulship; and Arbogast, the Frankish magister militum, was the power behind the usurper Eugenius

(392-394) who was eventually defeated by Theodosius. By the fifth century one group of Franks, the Salians, had risen to a position of pre-eminence and it was from them that the effective founder of the Merovingian dynasty, Clovis, emerged. His father, Childeric, served in the campaigns against the Visigoths in the 450s and 460s as commander of the auxiliaries under the magister militum Aegidius. His wealth, the result of collaboration with the Romans, can be seen in his tomb at Tournai (55). During this century and earlier, as Musset points out (56), the Frankish kings had already penetrated as far as the Loire through settlements of laeti and coloni and through their own campaigns. When Syagrius, son of Aegidius, was defeated by Clovis in 486 and his capital, Soissons, captured, there was no need for Clovis to launch a campaign to conquer Gaul. He merely had to consolidate his hold over areas where Franks were settled already, move into the vacuum left by Syagrius and maintain control over a few Roman centres such as Soissons and Paris. This Frankish advance does not resemble in the least the conquest of Italy and Spain by the Goths, or of Africa by the Vandals. The fact that this was the most stable and long-lasting of the Barbarian kingdoms, as Musset observes (56), is probably to be attributed to the relative equilibrium between Roman and Germanic elements, an equilibrium presumably fostered by this comparatively gentle process of assimilation.

The process of assimilation, the bonding of Gallo-Roman and Frank by mutual support and interest, was further advanced by the conversion of Clovis into the Catholic faith under the influence of his Burgundian wife Clothild and Bishop Remigius of Rheims. His baptism took place in Rheims, most probably on Christmas Day, 498. As an

orthodox Christian king, he was seen as their champion against Arianism by the Gallic bishops, especially by those living south of the Loire under the Arian Visigoths. The Frankish drive south, therefore, and their defeat of the Visigoths near Poitiers in 507 had the full backing of the Gallo-Roman ecclesiastical establishment and gained the orthodox seal of approval by the miraculous intervention of St. Hilary himself doing battle on their side (57).

The crowning of Clovis in the basilica of St. Martin at Tours symbolised the fusion of all these elements: Frankish and Roman traditions, ecclesiastical and military power. Receiving from the Emperor Anastasius letters conferring the consulate on him, the king, dressed in a purple suit and a military cloak, crowned himself in the basilica with a diadem. Thereafter he styled himself consul and Augustus (58).

On his death in 511, his sons divided the territory he had conquered among them. This was done without any attention to the geographical unity of the kingdoms created, with consequent problems in administering scattered territories and the increased likelihood of border incidents. Expansionist policies continued. Burgundy was annexed in 534, Provence in 537. But in both cases, the existing Roman organisation was maintained. In Provence, for example, the office of rector provinciae continued, filled with Frankish appointments who were often from the ranks of the Provençal patricians (59). Thuringia was subdued in 530, the princess Radegund being seized as booty by Lothar and educated to be his wife. Alamannia was conquered by Theudebert after 536 and there were some advances against the Bavarians in the 550s.

It is difficult to establish with any certainty the exact nature and extent of Frankish settlement in Gaul. In the north the row-graves and burials with Germanic weapons and other possessions suggest a partial settlement by the Franks in this area (60). But south of the Seine such intensive evidence is missing. Indeed James argues that it is difficult to identify Frankish graves with any certainty, since many changes in burial customs are due to changes in belief and habit rather than to the inroads of a different people (61). On the whole, archaeological evidence suggests that there was no large scale Frankish settlement in this area.

In the Touraine Lelong has seriously challenged Boussard's arguments that Gallo-Roman settlements were replaced by Frankish ones (62). Further south the archaeological evidence suggests that very few Franks settled south of the Loire (63). The Gallo-Roman pattern of life, dominated by the old aristocratic families, remained largely unchanged by the Merovingian invasion in the area of Tours and Poitiers where Fortunatus eventually settled. The picture drawn by Fortunatus of Bishop Leontius' three villas near Bordeaux (Poems 1.18-20) - a Romanised style of life which stems directly from the time of Sidonius Apollinaris and further back, from the earlier more settled days of empire - is substantiated by the evidence (64).

Clovis' grandsons were ruling when Fortunatus came to Metz. On the death of Lothar in 561, fighting broke out between his four sons: Charibert, Guntram, Sigibert and Chilperic. Chilperic tried to steal a march on his brothers by seizing the treasure in the royal villa at Berny-Rivière, buying support with it and occupying Paris. The three other brothers combined forces to drive him out and to effect a more

equitable division of territory (65). In this division Charibert, as eldest son, gained Paris and its surrounding country and Aquitania, including Tours, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Toulouse. Chilperic held Soissons and a small kingdom to the north. Guntram took Burgundy and land down to Provence. Sigibert's lands were more dispersed: a northern area in Austrasia but also the Auvergne and part of Provence, his two capitals being Rheims and Metz.

Fighting soon broke out again between Chilperic and his brothers, Chilperic attacking Rheims and Sigibert capturing Soissons (66). To these tensions were added the dynastic ambitions of Sigibert. In scorn of the unworthy and irregular liaisons of his brothers, he sent Gogo, a trusted courtier, and other envoys to Spain to bring back the Visigothic princess, Brunhild, to marry him in 566 (67). Chilperic's attempt to match this coup by marrying Brunhild's sister, Galswinth, shortly afterwards, ended in her murder on Chilperic's instructions and at the instigation of Fredegund, who then supplanted Galswinth as Chilperic's queen (68). This event gave rise to a bitter feud which only ended in Brunhild's grim death in old age at the hands of Chilperic's son, Lothar II

In 567 Charibert died childless and his lands were divided among his brothers. Tours and Poitiers were among the towns added to Sigibert's kingdom, though in practice they were almost immediately possessed by Chilperic. It was about this time in Poitiers that Fortunatus met Radegund, a Thuringian princess captured about 530 and brought up and educated by Lothar to be his wife. She fled from her husband after his murder of her brother and, having long been attracted by the religious life, took the veil from St. Medard at

Noyons. After going on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, she came to Poitiers about 544, when Pientius was bishop, and established a community there. The skilful diplomacy of Bishop Germanus in Paris ensured not only her freedom from her husband but also financial and practical support in the foundation of the convent. She instituted as abbess Agnes, a girl she had adopted and brought up, introduced the Rule of ~~Caesar~~arius of Arles to discipline the life of the community and obtained the written and practical support of many of the leading bishops of the kingdom for her foundation. About the time Fortunatus arrived in Poitiers, she was engaged, with the support of Sigibert, in negotiations to secure the high standing of the convent by obtaining from Justin II and the Empress Sophia in Byzantium, a fragment of the True Cross. The poet was involved in writing poems giving indirect support to her petition, a gratiarum actio for the gift (Appendix 2) and the famous hymns, Vexilla regis (Poem 2.4) and Pange lingua (Poem 2.2) to celebrate the arrival of the relic. From that time onwards, until Radegund's death in 587 and afterwards, the poet was based in Poitiers (69).

The period after 587, during which Fortunatus established himself in Poitiers, was a time of great unrest. The rich cities of Aquitaine were always attractive targets, especially when they belonged to such a widely-dispersed kingdom. Immediately after the redivision of territory, Mummolus was appointed jointly by Guntram and Sigibert to win Poitiers and Tours back from Chilperic and give substance to the territorial agreement of the brothers (70). Fighting dragged on and Guntram eventually called a council of bishops in Paris in an attempt to reconcile Sigibert and Chilperic. It failed and the fighting merely

grew more bitter. In 574, the year after Gregory, Fortunatus' friend and patron, became Bishop of Tours, Theudebert, Chilperic's son, swept across Touraine and Poitou, burning and looting, devastating the towns and countryside far and wide, laying churches waste, massacring clergy and nuns: atrocities which Gregory can only compare to the persecutions of Diocletian (71). Sigibert's retaliation killed Theudebert in battle and trapped Chilperic, Fredegund and his children within the walls of Tournai. So near to victory and the amalgamation of the two kingdoms, Sigibert was assassinated by servants sent by Fredegund, at the very moment at which he was being saluted as king.

Sigibert's heir, Childebert II, was only five and the kingdom had to be ruled by Brunhild and Gogo, Childebert's nutritor. Chilperic took advantage of this situation to capture Paris and Soissons, to banish the queen after seizing her treasure and then to attack the Touraine (72). The comes Roccolen came against Tours in the winter of 575 with a levy from Maine, and Merovech, Chilperic's son, was sent against Poitiers. These cities were the centre of lengthy and indecisive fighting and were not immediately incorporated into Chilperic's kingdom. Merovech turned against his father to marry Brunhild, and another rebelling noble, Guntram Boso, was protected by Gregory of Tours when he sought refuge in St. Martin's church. In 577 Chilperic again sent an army against Tours, apparently meeting with success since he raised a levy there in 579 to fight the Bretons (73).

The events from that point until the murder of Chilperic in 584 are extremely complex. The forces of Guntram and Chilperic continued to fight for control of Aquitaine, whilst Brunhild and her young son maintained an uneasy alliance with anyone who might protect his

interests. At the same time, in Tours and Poitiers, the relations between Gregory and Chilperic were strained and the bishop had trouble with the king's representatives within the city. His enemies sought to have him removed and spread stories about his treasonable behaviour. The climax to this assault came in 580 when Gregory was summoned to the royal villa at Berny-Rivière to answer before a Council of bishops the charge that he had slandered Fredegund by suggesting that she had committed adultery with Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux (74). In view of Bertram's royal connections (75), this was a particularly dangerous accusation. To the delight of the people, which Gregory carefully records, the bishop was exonerated by the Council.

Shortly after the Council the two young sons of Chilperic and Fredegund died in an epidemic of dysentery (76). These deaths may well have aided the party at the Austrasian court of Childebert II which sought alliance with Chilperic. Headed by Bishop Igidius of Rheims, they realised that Chilperic, now without an heir, might well be willing to recognise Childebert II, who was now eleven years old. The opposition to this from Gogo, the young king's nutritor, ended on his death in 581 and Igidius' plans were well advanced when Chilperic was murdered at Chelles in 584. After this Guntram of Burgundy, by now the sole survivor of the four sons of Lothar, having no heir, eventually sought alliance with Brunhild and Childebert II. This move, backed by many bishops and leaders in both kingdoms, resulted in the Treaty of Andelot on November 27th, 587. Under the terms of this treaty, Guntram and Childebert each recognised the other as his heir: Guntram promised protection for Childebert's two sons, Theudebert (born in 585) and Theuderic (born in 587) in the event of Childebert's death. Protection

was likewise promised for Brunhild, Clodosind, Childebert's sister, and Faileuba, his queen. The cities of Bordeaux, Limoges and others which formed the morgengabe of Galswinth were confirmed as the property of her sister, Brunhild. Tours, Poitiers and several other cities were confirmed in the possession of Childebert (77).

Times were more peaceful for Tours and Poitiers after the Treaty of Andelot, Guntram acting very much like a benevolent uncle to Childebert II. But by the mid-590s the people who had mainly affected Fortunatus' life in Poitiers were dead. Radegund died in 587, probably shortly predeceased by Agnes, her Abbess (78). Guntram died in 593, Gregory in 594 and Childebert II in 596. The following year Fredegund died and Brunhild was left, on the death of her son at the age of twenty-six, with two young grandsons to protect and establish as successors to their father. Fighting was now mainly concentrated in the north and the east. The last few years of Fortunatus' life in Poitiers may have been relatively settled in comparison with the turmoil of earlier years.

Fortunatus' life in Gaul, mainly based in Poitiers, must therefore have been lived against a background of perpetual military and political unrest, even at times under the direct threat of the capture and devastation of the city. If indeed he chose Gaul as the peaceful alternative to life under the Lombards in Italy, as Tardi suggested (79), he must often have regretted his choice.

b. The social and cultural background

The catalogue of archaeological evidence produced by Salin on the brutal and sinister aspects of Merovingian life amplifies Gregory's accounts of violence and cruelty and offers an impression in marked contrast to the vision of an effortlessly sophisticated and elegant Roman life-style often created in Fortunatus' poems. Bishop Leontius' villas outside Bordeaux bask in a romantic, nostalgic haze of civilisation. Agnes and Radegund exchange with Fortunatus elegant little gifts of flowers, choice meats and tasty cream puddings. The evidence from Merovingian graves, as from the writings of Gregory of Tours, is often, by contrast, of violent death, a high mortality rate (especially amongst children), even of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism (80).

The suggestion has been made that this latter aspect of Merovingian life more accurately represents the level of culture in Gaul, and that by the sixth century Gaul was a cultural wilderness where classical Latin was a dead, or at least, a dying language, understood by a mere handful (81). Gregory of Tours' protestations of grammatical ineptitude in the first paragraph of his history are to be taken literally on this view. Such a context would call into question any serious intention or literary integrity in much of Fortunatus' work. The wide range of men and women, Franks and Gallo-Romans, whom he addressed informally, could only be supposed to have a hazy comprehension of the verses they received and no appreciation at all of any verbal or stylistic subtleties. The public poems - the panegyrics, the epithalamium, the poems for the dedication of

buildings - would be reduced to meaningless rituals in which the traditional function of such poems of active mediation between poet and audience would be absent. The touches of humour, of literary or descriptive evocation of atmosphere must be a matter of dead habit, since none of his audience could have had the learning to understand them.

The work of P. Riche¹, however, has done much to dispel this misconception (82). A great deal of the evidence about the period in fact concerns the very people Fortunatus writes to or for. In Provence and Burgundy Gallo-Romans of traditional education continued to hold high office in the second half of the sixth century. Guntram on his accession in 561 appointed as patricius of Burgundy Celsus, a man well-versed in Roman law (83). Asclepiodotus, who served both Guntram and Childebert II as Referendary, was skilled in rhetoric (84). Claudius, appointed by Brunhild as Major of the palace at the beginning of the seventh century, was litterarum eruditus according to Pseudo-Fredegar (85). Fortunatus corresponds with members of a Provençal literary circle, of whose abilities and interests we have independent evidence. Dynamius of Marseilles sent Fortunatus his poems (see Poem 6.10.56). One verse of his poetry survives, together with several letters written in the convoluted, rhetorical style which characterises the prose epistles of Fortunatus himself. He also wrote a prose Vita S. Maximi (86). Dynamius' wife, Eucheria, was also a poet. A single surviving poem of some thirty-two lines provides the last classical example of the rhetorical motif of adynaton (87).

Also in this circle were the Senator Felix and Iovinus (88). Fortunatus requests letters from Iovinus and even hopes for a verse

reply to his epigrammata (Poems 7.11 and 12, especially 12.105-106). Felix is noted by Gregory of Tours as the father of Marcellus who succeeded the learned Ferreolus as Bishop of Uzés (89) and as a literary figure himself (90). He was the original owner of the remarkable slave, Andarchius, whose work for Felix and knowledge of Vergil, the Theodosian code and arithmetic, brought him to the notice of Duke Lupus and thence to employment in the household of Sigibert (91). (Gregory reports, perhaps not without a degree of satisfaction, that such an unnatural combination of ambition and erudition in a slave brought him to a sticky end.) Such was the intellectual reputation of the circle⁽⁹²⁾ that Domnolus, Bishop of Le Mans, refused to move to Avignon on the grounds that he would be too bored by the literary and philosophical conversation in those parts (93).

Aquitaine too, like Provence, remained strongly Gallo-Roman in its education and its cultural tastes (94). The old Gallo-Roman families still held positions of power both in the secular world and as bishops. The three poems Fortunatus writes to Bishop Leontius of Bordeaux on his villas (Poems 1.18-20) reveal a life-style and cultural ambitions perhaps a little battered by economic realities, but still aspiring to the traditions practised for generations by the aristocratic families of that region.

Evidence of literary attainment here comes from Fortunatus and from Gregory. The young Arcadius, whose premature death was lamented by the poet, was

eloquio torrens, specie radiante venustus,
vincens artifices et puer arte rudis.

(Poem 4.17.7-8)

(His eloquence flowed in a torrent; enchanting by his radiant appearance, though still a boy, a novice at the art, he conquered even the masters).

Fortunatus congratulates Bishop Felix of Nantes, sprung from an Aquitanian family, on his poetry (Poem 3.4). Bishop Sulpicius of Bourges is praised for his skill in rhetoric and verse by Gregory (95), whilst Gregory himself, for all his modest disclaimers, must rank high amongst scholars of his time (96).

At the Merovingian courts there is also good evidence of a positive interest in literature. Duke Lupus of Champagne, one of Fortunatus' early patrons, is not himself singled out for any particular compliment on his literary activity. But he is given general praise for his eloquence by Fortunatus (Poem 7.7.15-18, 25-30) and his patronage of both Andarchius and Fortunatus himself indicates a positive appreciation of the values of literary skills.

There is other evidence for such an attitude at the Merovingian courts. Sigibert is noted in conventional terms as eloquent in Fortunatus' epithalamium (Poem 6.1a.23) but in his employment of the well-educated Gogo as nutritor for his son, as in the use of Andarchius, can be seen to have the same liberal attitude as Lupus. His widow is later complimented by Gregory the Great for her attention to the education of her son, Childebert II (97). Charibert is praised by Fortunatus for his eloquence in both Latin and Germanic (Poem 6.2.7-8) and portrayed as outstripping even the Gallo-Romans in his command of their native language (Poem 6.2.97-100). Such a fulsome

compliment, made on a public occasion, might imply such a facility could have been in doubt. However, Charibert's daughter, who married the king of Kent, was litteris docta (98), a fact which perhaps makes Fortunatus' compliments seem more substantial.

Of the four brothers, Chilperic was the most remarkable for his learning. In his panegyric to Chilperic (Poem 9.1) Fortunatus implies that it was conceivable that an interpreter might have been present, on some occasions if not that particular one, but for Chilperic's linguistic ability. In the absence of an interpreter - si interpres barbarus extet -, the poet explains the meaning of Chilperic's name in Germanic as adiutor fortis (lines 27-28) and then, more significantly, says that Chilperic is able to understand varias sub nullo interprete voces ("different tongues without the help of an interpreter", line 93). The "different tongues" in all probability means Latin and Germanic. A similar phrase in the panegyric to Charibert, noted above, clearly refers to these two languages. Fortunatus says of the audience in Paris:

hinc cui barbaries, illinc Romania plaudit:
diversis linguis laus sonat una viri.

(Poem 6.2.7-8)

(On the one side the barbarians applaud him, on the other the Romans. In different languages the same praise resounds for the man).

This couplet seems to reflect the different national groups greeting Charibert in a formal adventus ceremony, as Gregory describes

happening to Guntram on another occasion (99). This ceremony in Paris is evidence of the formal use of both languages on such court occasions, and suggests that the same may well have applied at the Council of Bishops at Berny-Rivière, the occasion of the compliment to Chilperic in Poem 9.1, or at least on other appropriate occasions at Chilperic's court.

But further than this, Gregory vouches for considerable literary and scholastic interests on Chilperic's part. The king had decided views on the nature of the Trinity, which he committed to paper. He also composed mediocre verse in the style of Sedulius, as well as sequences for the Mass; he revised the alphabet in the manner of Claudius (100). In spite of Gregory's condemnation of the worth of this McGonagall of Latin pietistic verse, the king clearly had a strong and active literary interest. This interest was also found in another member of the royal family, Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux, half-cousin to Charibert, Guntram and Sigibert (101). Fortunatus records his thanks for the epigrammata Bertram has sent him (Poem 3.18).

Amongst others with literary tastes in court circles, Gogo, nutritor to Childebert II (102), was brought into the chancellery by Brunhild, probably after her husband's death. A letter from him to the Lombard Grasulf survives, together with three other letters (103). To one of these, Letter 13, a set of verses was originally attached, though they are now lost. In Letter 16 Gogo compliments Traseric on his literary skill and style and opines that they have no need of foreign exemplars, - cum te incola regio nostra unicum meruit habere doctorem ("since our realm has been rewarded by the possession of a

singular mentor, whilst you are living here"). This phrase was taken by Koebner to imply a strong nationalistic feeling of competitiveness against foreign poets, such as Fortunatus (104), and by Riche to mean that Fortunatus was the mentor mentioned (105). The compliment clearly refers to Traseric, however, and if indeed Gogo is referring indirectly to Fortunatus here, there does not seem to be the strong feeling against him which Koebner detects. Indeed the highest praise, it could be argued, might be to say that Traseric is better than Fortunatus. Gogo clearly had a sensitivity to the finer points of Latin style: though he himself bewails his lack of eloquentia maroniana (Ep.13), Norberg traces Vergilian overtones in his writing (106) and Fortunatus compliments Gogo as a Cicero in his prose writing (Poem 7.2.3) (107). The Traseric Gogo corresponds with is a poet himself - he is termed vates - and in all likelihood is the Traseric Fortunatus addresses in Poem 2.13 as the builder of a shrine (108).

Outside court circles, Dagaulf and his wife, Vilithuta, are both educated. Vilithuta, though a Frank by birth, was *thus Romanised* (Poem 4.26.14) and Dagaulf himself is well-educated (line 39). Women generally seem to have as strong an interest in literature and education as men. Eusebia is characterised in her epitaph as docta tenens calamos (Poem 4.28.9). Eucheria, Dynamius' wife, was a poet in her own right. Brunhild took an active part in the education of her son, Childebert, and was praised for this by Pope Gregory the Great. It also seems correct to suppose, with Dronke, that she wrote at least some of the letters surviving in her name, though the more formal may have been the work of her chancellery (109).

Radegund herself, after her capture by the Franks, litteris est

erudita (110), though the context of this remark implies that her interest was mainly in Christian martyrologies. Caesaria, abbess of the convent of St. Jean in Arles, advises Radegund and her nuns:

Lectiones divinas iugiter aut legite aut audite, quia ipsae sunt ornamenta anime: ex ipsis praetiosas margaritas auribus vestris appendite, ex ipsis anulos et dextralia. (111)

(Both read and hear assiduously the divine lessons, for they are the ornaments of the soul: gather from them precious pearls to hang on your ears, make from them rings and bracelets).

Fortunatus gives an impressive and orthodox Christian *educational* background for her in Poem 8.1, ex nomine suo ad diversos: the writings of Gregory, Basil, Athanasius, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Sedulius and Orosius, a breadth of reading encouraged by the Rule (lines 53-60). The Rule of Caesarius, which Radegund adopted for her convent, did indeed specify that all nuns should learn to read and should spend two hours a day doing so (112). In the communities governed by this Rule, nuns regularly functioned as teachers, since men were only admitted for the celebration of Mass and the administration of the sacraments (113). Indeed one of the important offices in these communities was that of librarian (114), a nun whose task it was to guard the books of the community, scarce and valuable property. Recent work, initiated by the researches of Bischoff into Cologne manuscripts copied by nuns, suggests that female communities were far more actively involved than had hitherto been

supposed in work as copyists and even as authors (115). Their involvement in such activities is as great as that of monks. The importance of literacy is shown by the fact that nuns who learned slowly were beaten, just as were lazy monks (116). Within Radegund's own community, the fact that one of their biographies of their founder was written by a nun, Baudonivia, is evidence of the earlier practice of these skills.

Beyond basic reading and writing, education of nuns, as of monks, was largely confined to a knowledge of the bible, of the Fathers of the Church and some knowledge of canon and civil law. But Radegund's education, at first directed to her intended position as Lothar's queen, may well have enabled her to appreciate more pagan writings, to judge from the poems Fortunatus sends to her and to Agnes, and from the poems Fortunatus writes on her behalf to Byzantium (Appendix 1 and 2), which are much in the epic and rhetorical tradition. Fortunatus asks for help in composing the Vita Martini from Radegund and Agnes (Praef. line 354). This help was presumably moral support rather than practical advice, though Nisard conjectured that Radegund was in fact the author of the first three poems of the Appendix, on the unconvincing grounds that they were too emotional to have been written by a man (117). Similarly, with Appendix 22 as a covering note, Fortunatus sends the newly finished Vita Marcelli for her comments and approval (lines 15 ff.) and in Appendix 31 he thanks and praises her for verses she herself has written:

in brevibus tabulis mihi carmina magna dedisti,
quae vacuis ceris reddere mella potes. (lines 1-2)

(On small tablets you have given me great verses: on empty
wax you are able to restore the honey).

Radegund and Agnes therefore emerge plausibly as well-educated women, with an active interest as authors themselves as well as merely as readers and critics.

Like Radegund, the other leaders of communities Fortunatus writes for also have an interest in education. Abbot Aredius (Poems 5.19 and 6.7) followed the Rules of Basil and Cassian, which encouraged a disciplined and cultured life (118). Droctoveus instituted the Rule of Basil when he became abbot of St. Vincent in Paris (119).

Franks and Gallo-Romans, therefore, in both court and ecclesiastical circles, evince more than a passing interest in literature and a literary education at this period. Much of the evidence comes from Fortunatus himself and the argument could be supposed for that reason to be circular. But the analysis of individual poems shows the poet as having a sensitive ear for personal literary tastes and adapting his style accordingly, to an extent which would be simply implausible if he were merely performing some ritual, unintelligible save at the most banal level. This conclusion is supported by Gregory's evidence, by his own writing, by the evidence he gives of others and by surviving documentation from the period.

This literary activity did not flourish in isolation. The evidence suggests that, especially in ecclesiastical building and furnishing, there was a lively artistic milieu likely to provide direct occasions for poetry as well as the visual imagery which Fortunatus' writing so often reflects. The mid-sixth century was one of ambitious building

programmes, especially in Aquitaine. Amongst many royal churches, Childebert I built the church later known as S. Germain-des-Prés, a church which rivalled those of Rome and Ravenna in its riches (120). From Fortunatus' own poems we have descriptions of the fine churches and chapels built by Bishop Leontius of Bordeaux and his wife, by Bishop Felix of Nantes and Bishop Nicetius of Trier, and of the restoration work on the cathedral of Tours carried out by Gregory. These churches were sumptuously furnished with mosaics and frescoes, with altar hangings and tapestries. Surviving Merovingian mosaics at Toulouse present a series of illustrated scenes from the Old and New Testaments, interspersed with decorative motifs of birds and plants in hellenistic or oriental styles (121). Fortunatus wrote explanatory verses to be painted or inscribed by the scenes from the life of St. Martin with which Gregory adorned the cathedral of St. Martin (122). Gregory himself describes the wife of Namatius of Clermont-Ferrand, at a slightly earlier period, sitting directing the work on her church of St. Stephen with a book on her knees, telling the workmen the stories she wanted painted on the walls (123).

From these surviving fragments and from the literary evidence of Fortunatus, Gregory and others, it is clear that these churches were also amply endowed with elaborate altar hangings and wall tapestries, sometimes with naturalistic ornamental designs, sometimes with biblical scenes worked on them (124). Sarcophagi and shrines, reliquaries and chalices with figures of the martyrs and saints as well as biblical scenes also provided a rich source of visual symbols and motifs (125). Such objects and imagery, especially insofar as they offered a pattern of human action and morality and visual symbols for

religious abstractions, would be a fertile source of inspiration for descriptive writing and for the verbal motifs which often echo and interweave with work of the visual arts. Of art and imagery on secular subjects there is less evidence. Decorative motifs on fibulae, on buckles and clasps, on sword hilts and brooches, have a wide range of pagan and Christian designs, animal and human (126). There is no surviving evidence of mosaics or frescoes in houses, villas or palaces, except Fortunatus' description of Leontius' three villas near Bordeaux, one of which had a mosaic (127). Coins have none of the elaborate architectural symbolism of citadels and city gates which is common in Rome and Byzantium (128), though they do have the imperial Christian imagery of victories, laurel wreaths, crosses and chrisms (129). But what evidence there is supports the impression gained from the ecclesiastical world of plentiful artistic activity.

Literary activity, therefore, did not happen in sterile isolation. People were building churches and having frescoes painted which they also wanted celebrated in verse. Fortunatus' writing was supported and occasioned at this simple level. But it also was the case that the surrounding visual imagery and symbolism enriched and developed the potential of contemporary verse. As we shall see, Fortunatus often heightens an atmosphere or communicates a message by means of a metaphor written in vivid descriptive terms, a vignette of a scene or a visual motif. Experience of other art forms develops an audience's sensitivity to description and decoration, and makes it possible for the poet to enrich and develop his writing in terms of visual imagery. For a Christian poet, such as Fortunatus, this wealth of ecclesiastical art is particularly important. Imagery enhances the

evocation of the supernatural and mystical, it symbolises and interprets the abstruse and complex.

The circumstances Fortunatus found on his arrival in Gaul were therefore favourable. For the Gallo-Romans he represented a continuation of their cultural traditions, a reinforcement of their identity and worth. The Franks had had time enough to assimilate much of the Roman way of life. They admired the values Fortunatus exemplified. They had the education to appreciate what Fortunatus wrote, as well as the cultural ambition to want him to write it for them. Fortunatus could create for Bishop Leontius the image of a leisured Roman gentleman on his country estate, for Sigibert an idealised portrait of a ruler with the virtues and aura of a Roman emperor, for Conda the cursus honorum of a real Roman magistrate, conveyed with all the ceremony of panegyric. As Auerbach says, Fortunatus was "the best purveyor of a commodity that was in great demand" (130). In terms of power and social standing the Merovingians were Fortunatus' patrons: in terms of cultural influence, Fortunatus was often theirs.

5. Fortunatus' career in Gaul

To cover in detail the chronology and circumstances of every poem written by Fortunatus would be to go needlessly over the ground covered so thoroughly by Meyer and Tardi. The detailed historical context of a poem will be discussed, where relevant, when a poem is analysed. The purpose of this section is to give a broad outline of

the pattern of Fortunatus' life and work in Gaul, without entering into disproportionately lengthy discussions of chronology which are irrelevant to the main purpose of this thesis: namely, an examination of Fortunatus' role as a poet in Merovingian Gaul and his treatment in his work of Roman literary traditions.

The date of Fortunatus' arrival in Gaul and his early career there can be set with a moderate degree of plausibility. The terms in which he addresses Sigibert and Brunhild in the epithalamium for their wedding in Metz make it clear that the event took place in the spring. Fortunatus appears to have met the Provençal, Dynamius, on that occasion and writes still from Germania to Dynamius more than a year after his return home (131). The poet subsequently addresses a panegyric to Charibert in Paris some time before the king's death in late 567 or early 568. The king is attested as present at the Council of Tours on November 17th, 567 (132) but died suddenly soon after (133).

We may then reasonably conjecture that Fortunatus arrived in Metz for a wedding in the spring of 566, stayed till mid-567 and then wintered in Paris, before moving on to Tours and Poitiers. This would fit with his comment to Lupus of Champagne that exul ab Italia nono, puto, volvor in anno (Poem 7.9.7, "I am in my ninth year, I think, as an exile from Italy"). The reference to recent military exploits in the associated poem to Lupus (Poem 9.8.65-72) in all likelihood dates the two poems to a time soon after the fighting between Sigibert and Chilperic in 574 (134). This would support 566 as the date of Fortunatus' arrival in Gaul.

Meyer puts the move to Poitiers earlier, to 567 (135). His argument is that Fortunatus must have been there for several months before Charibert's death. The letter of Radegund to the bishops about the convent, quoted by Gregory (136), implies, on Meyer's reading of it, that Charibert is still alive. This letter, he suggests, refers back to the installation of Agnes as abbess of the convent, an event which Fortunatus celebrated in Poem 8.3, and Poem 8.1 signals Fortunatus' entry into Radegund's service. To become so well established requires several months at the least. The poet's date of arrival, on Meyer's argument, must therefore be early to mid-567.

Meyer, however, does not take into account the year or more which Fortunatus mentions to Dynamius as the length of his stay in Austrasia. In his preface to Gregory Fortunatus mentions the cold of a winter journey to Gaul (Praef.4). The reference to Lupus of "the ninth year" makes this more likely to be the winter of 565/6 rather than of 564/5. The year's stay must therefore run over the winter of 566/7 and so postpone the sequence of events which Meyer reconstructs.

It is possible indeed that we should not regard Fortunatus' connection with Paris and Tours/Poitiers as a sequence, as Meyer does. It is conceivable that the poet went first to Paris, made contact with the court and with Bishop Germanus (who introduced him to his protegee, Radegund) and then commuted between the two places. This would imply that the poems written from Paris and those written from Poitiers were composed over the same period of time and that Fortunatus only gradually settled in Poitiers as his main base of operations.

Alternatively, Fortunatus' work in Poitiers may be seen as

following on chronologically from his work in Paris. The substantial poems produced for court and clergy there argue a reasonably long period of contact: a panegyric for Charibert (Poem 6.2), a consolation for the widowed queen, Ultrogotha (Poem 6.6), and poems for the Parisian clergy (Poems 2.9 and 10). Whether or not Charibert lived into 568, this would certainly suggest a stay of some months in Paris over the winter of 567.

Meyer's arguments for the presence of Fortunatus in Poitiers in 567, however, are not strong. As will be argued below, Poem 8.1 is probably the introduction to a new collection of poems, rather than the first poem written for Radegund. Poem 8.3 is indeed written for the installation of Agnes but that installation did not necessarily take place in the lifetime of Charibert. The terms of Radegund's letter only refer to a letter of support received in the past from Charibert and do not necessarily imply that he was still alive. The installation and the poem may then have been in early 568. On that view, Fortunatus could either have built up contacts in Paris and Poitiers simultaneously over the period from 567 into 568 or moved from the former to the latter in early 568. The circumstances of the arrival in Gaul of Brunhild's sister, Galswinth, of Fortunatus' witness of her progress through Poitiers on her way to meet Chilperic (Poem 6.5.223-224), and of her subsequent death, fit with either supposition.

Fortunatus wrote a remarkable range of poetry for an impressive number of patrons during this initial period of his life in Gaul. The likelihood that he came to Gaul armed with letters of introduction to

Gallic bishops has already been discussed. Fortunatus addresses poems in celebration of their life and works to Nicetius of Trier (Poems 3.11 and 12, Appendix 34), to Sidonius of Mainz (Poems 2.11 and 12) and to Vilicus of Metz (Poem 3.13). The episcopal connection continues when he leaves Metz, with poems to Ageric of Verdun (Poem 3.23) and Igidius of Rheims (Poem 3.15).

The visit to Rheims may well have been made in the train of Sigibert, Rheims being the capital and main residence of the king. It may have been there, too, that Fortunatus developed his acquaintance with Lupus, Duke of Champagne, whose seat Rheims was. As will be argued below, Poem 7.7 may be dated around 567/8 and may well be a celebration of Lupus' appointment as dux. Certainly the poem eulogises his service to Sigibert and speaks of his recent return home (lines 67 ff.). Fortunatus speaks in two later poems probably sent to Lupus from Poitiers (Poems 7.8 and 9) of his gratitude to the duke for his friendship and support when he first came to Gaul. The friendship, once established, seems to have been of long standing.

Fortunatus' poetry testifies to other friendships made through the early contacts at Metz. The comic account of his journey on the Moselle, De coco qui iniuriam fecit (Poem 6.8), for example, introduces as dramatis personae, besides the dastardly royal cook, Bishop Vilicus of Metz, Gogo and Count Papulus, all engaged in helping Fortunatus on his way. Gogo, Traseric and the domesticus, Conda, receive poems from Fortunatus at this period (137). The poet later writes from Poitiers to Sigoald, who was first detailed by Sigibert to look after him on his arrival (Poem 10.16). Sigismund and Alagesil were probably Saxon soldiers whom Fortunatus first met in 566 in Metz.

(138) and whom he also keeps in contact with later (Poems 7.20 and 21, Appendix 4). Dynamius and Iovinus returned from Sigibert's court to Provence and Fortunatus later bewails their separation, expressing his eagerness to see them again (Poems 6.9 and 10, 7.11 and 12)) (139).

This range of friendships and patronage, supported by the signal favour of the king, might suggest that it is strange that Fortunatus does not stay more permanently at Sigibert's court. Brennan expresses surprise that Fortunatus was not found any official post, as court poet, or in the chancellery, or even as head of a schola within the palace (140). But this is not so surprising when we consider that the poems we have give only the poet's determinedly friendly approach to a patron. In fact Fortunatus is young and a foreigner. It is one matter to use him to deliver a panegyric or epithalamium, and another to place him, untested, in a post of considerable power and responsibility and even of political delicacy.

In the event Sigibert appears to have given Fortunatus considerable continuing support. Fortunatus takes part in the royal progress down the Moselle; on the evidence of the itinerary in the Vita Martini (141) and the poems themselves, Fortunatus is writing for Sigibert at important centres in the north of Sigibert's kingdom when the king leaves Metz. He is present in court circles in Rheims; he writes in honour of St. Medard of Noyon who consecrated Radegund as a deaconess and whose remains were translated to Soissons by Lothar I. Fortunatus celebrates the saint's merits and the church Sigibert raised in the saint's honour above his tomb (142).

From the court of Sigibert Fortunatus moved to that of his brother, Charibert, in Paris. The poet addressed a panegyric of the king to the Parisians, praising among other qualities the king's dutiful care for the widowed queen, Ultrogotha, and her daughters (Poem 6.2) (143). The Christian virtues of the queen and her late husband, Childbert I, are celebrated separately in Poem 6.6, de horto Ultrogothonis (144) and in Poems 2.9 and 10, ad clerum Parisiacum and de ecclesia Parisiaca. These two latter poems also honour Germanus, Bishop of Paris, and his clergy. The sudden death of Charibert must have put an abrupt end to any hopes Fortunatus had of settling in Paris and working for court and church there. Chilperic seized the city and Fortunatus, a protégé of the king's rivals, his two elder brothers, must have found himself in an uncomfortable position.

At this point he presumably completed the pilgrimage of thanksgiving described in the Vita Martini by a visit to the sacred places associated with the saint, culminating in a visit to St. Martin's tomb in the basilica at Tours extra muros. The connection with Paris was maintained. After the death of Germanus in 576, Fortunatus writes to thank Bishop Ragnemod for a gift of marble for the convent (Poem 9.10) and also addresses poems to the bishop's brother (Poem 9.12) and to ~~three~~ of his clergy (Poems 9.11 and 13).

In Tours Fortunatus made the acquaintance of Bishop Eufronius, writing a formal poem of praise for his virtues and his hospitality (Poem 3.3) and two prose letters (Poems 3.1 and 2). It may have been Eufronius or Germanus who sent Fortunatus with an introduction to the convent in Poitiers founded by Radegund. In 568 Pascentius was bishop of Poitiers. We know little of him save that he had previously been

abbot of St. Hilary's monastery (145) and that Fortunatus dedicated his Vita Hilarii to him. At this time Radegund was involved in negotiations to obtain the relic of a fragment of the True Cross from the Emperor Justin II and the Empress Sophia in Byzantium. This request was made with the support of Sigibert (146) and so is probably to be dated late in 568. Poitiers and Tours had been seized by Chilperic after Charibert's death and only restored to Sigibert after a successful campaign by Mummulus (147). It is unlikely, then, that Poitiers was settled in its allegiance to Sigibert much before the end of 568. Assuming that the envoys were dispatched immediately with Sigibert's official blessing, the embassy must have taken about a year if they were given the relic without delay, and would have returned by the end of 569.

By this time Fortunatus appears to be established in Poitiers and involved in the affairs of the convent. It seems likely that Fortunatus' letter to Artachis in Radegund's name (Appendix 3) and his mini-epic, de excidio Thoringiae (Appendix 1) were taken by the embassy to Byzantium to add literary eloquence to support their request (148). The embassy may also have carried with them the poems to Dynamius and Iovinus for delivery on their way through Provence. When the relic arrived, the then Bishop of Poitiers, Maroveus, successor to Pascentius, refused to take part in its installation. It was Eufronius of Tours who, on Sigibert's instructions, saw to the installation of the fragment of the True Cross in Poitiers. It was probably in celebration of this event that Fortunatus wrote his two great hymns, Vexilla regis prodeunt and Pange, lingua. He also wrote an elaborate poem of thanks to Justin and Sophia on Radegund's behalf

and no doubt with Sigibert's approval (Appendix 2) (149).

Radegund's second biographer, Baudonivia, singles out the nun's national and international diplomacy in the furtherance of peace and stability (150). Fortunatus was rapidly caught up in her international diplomatic projects on behalf of the community. He was also involved in more domestic concerns. To strengthen the internal life of the convent, Radegund adopted the Rule of Caesarius and appointed as abbess Agnes, whom she had brought up from childhood. It is likely that this took place in 567/8 (151). This great event in the life of the community too was celebrated by Fortunatus in a poem, 1e virginitate (Poem 8.3). Many shorter, more informal poems illustrate the part that Fortunatus played in the life of the community and his love for Agnes and Radegund.

There is some question about the status of the poet at Poitiers. The medieval manuscripts style Fortunatus presbyter Italicus. The date of his ordination, however, is difficult to determine. Paul the Deacon speaks of Fortunatus arriving in Poitiers:

novissimeque in eadem civitate primum presbyter, deinde
episcopus ordinatus est.

(Paul the Deacon, HL 2.13)

The normal interpretation of novissime would be that the event referred to is late in a sequence. The sentence would then mean:

Very late (i.e. in his life) he was ordained first a priest
and then bishop in that city.



Gregory, writing before 593, speaks of the Vita Martini being written by the "priest Fortunatus" (152). Evidence from the Vita Martini itself has been taken to suggest that Fortunatus was a priest by 576, the date of its composition (153). Fortunatus mentions in the fourth book the advice given by Bishop Paul that he should take orders (154). Earlier he says that he does not wear the philosopher's cloak nor the toga (155). The implication here could be that he is speaking as a priest, the train of thought in the later reference to Bishop Paul being that he has now taken that prelate's advice. But the emphasis in the earlier passage is rather on his literary standing:

non praetexta mihi rutilat toga, paenula nulla
flammea, nuda fames superest de paupere lingua.

(V.M. 1.34-35)

(I wear no purple-bordered toga, no resplendent cloak:

bare poverty is all that my poor tongue provides).

In the context of his modest disclaimers about his oratorical learning and skill, the contrast is rather between the successful speaker and the failure. The context is a formal rhetorical modesty topos concerning the speaker's ability, not his standing as cleric or layman. The biographical information about the advice of Bishop Paul may then simply be introduced amongst other marks of affectionate memory and pilgrimage, for his early interest and pious encouragement of Fortunatus.

Tardi observes that the poems in which Fortunatus bewails Radegund's absence in her Lent retreat imply Fortunatus is not yet a

priest. If he were, as Radegund's chaplain he would presumably still have contact with her. But since these poems cannot be dated, they are no help in this respect (156).

In a letter written to Gregory in 590 or 591 about the scandalous rebellion at the convent after Radegund's death, Fortunatus refers to a colleague as conservus meus presbyter (Poem 8.12a). If this is taken to mean "my fellow priest", Fortunatus must be ordained by this date (though not necessarily much earlier). The word compresbyter, however, is sufficiently common at this period for Fortunatus to have used it if "fellow priest" was precisely what he meant (157). The phrase may then be read as meaning "my fellow servant (of yours), the priest".

The evidence is not conclusive but on balance it seems likely that we should take novissime literally and suppose Fortunatus to have been ordained in the late 580s or the early 590s.

The question of who ordained Fortunatus is also a problem. We know that he was on good terms with Bishop Pascentius of Poitiers, to whom he dedicated the Vita Hilarii. But Pascentius died in 568 and his successor was Maroveus, who was hostile to Radegund and all she did. It is unlikely that he would have ordained someone so closely connected with Radegund as Fortunatus. But on the occasions on which Maroveus refused to officiate as bishop at the convent, the Bishops of Tours had acted in his stead. Eufronius had installed the relic of the True Cross (158) and Gregory officiated at Radegund's funeral (159). It is conceivable that Gregory himself ordained Fortunatus. But if the date of ordination is indeed late, the bishop concerned may well be Plato of Poitiers, who succeeded Maroveus about 591 (160), and whose consecration was celebrated by Fortunatus (161).

From the evidence of the poems to Radegund and Agnes, it seems likely that Fortunatus lived close at hand to the convent. Augustin Thierry suggested that he was in fact intendant of the convent (162). The poet has been described as a kind of business manager or overseer of the convent lands (163). This theory rests, however, on one line of a poem in which Fortunatus writes to Radegund:

Fortunatus agens, Agnes quoque versibus orant,
.... (Poem 11.4.3)

(Fortunatus in all earnestness and Agnes too beseech with verses).

Agens is used in the sense of an overseer or manager in Gaul at this date (164) but it is far more likely that Fortunatus used the word mainly because it was a clever play on the name Agnes (165). Poems to Radegund and Agnes do indeed show that Fortunatus is often dependent on them for food and can only send them small gifts from his own lands, a necessity which would be unlikely if he had charge of the convent's property.

Fortunatus may not have contributed to the practical management of the convent. But he often played an important and active role as Radegund's envoy in the diplomatic and peacemaking interprises Baudonivia records Radegund as maintaining throughout her life (166).

In his first few years at Poitiers Fortunatus continued to be involved to an extent in the affairs of the royal family and to travel about. He saw the entourage of the Visigothic princess, Galswinth, pass

through Poitiers en route for Paris (Poem 6.5.223-224). On the death of the princess Fortunatus writes from Poitiers, most probably at the request of Radegund, to console Brunhild and her mother and possibly to attempt to prevent the bitter feud which did in fact break out between the two families (167).

In the Preface to Gregory, Fortunatus gives an itinerary that mentions further travels:

per... Ligerem et Garonnam, Aquitaniae maxima fluentia,
transmittens, Pyrenaeis occurrens Julio mense nivosis...

(Praef.4)

(crossing... the Loire and the Garonne, the great rivers of Aquitaine, reaching the Pyrenees, still snowy in the month of July...).

The reference to the Garonne can be taken to cover the visit to Bordeaux, when Fortunatus wrote in honour of Bishop Leontius, his wife, Placidina, and the villas and churches they had built or restored (Poems 1.8-20). Brennan argues convincingly that Poem 1.21, a comic plaint on the strange characteristics of the River Gers, derives from a continuation of this visit to Bordeaux to the Haute Garonne, then to the Gers in hot summer weather and thence via Auch to Toulouse. This would provide the occasion for seeing snow in the Pyrenees in July, and for writing two poems connected with the martyr saint of Toulouse, St. Saturninus. The first is a celebration of the saint (Poem 2.7), the second eulogises the donor of the church of St. Saturninus - de Launebode qui aedificavit templum S. Saturnini (Poem 2.8).

Launebod was dux in that region and he and his wife probably showed hospitality to the poet (168).

This itinerary would amply explain the geographical references in Fortunatus' preface. There is no reason to suppose that Fortunatus ever actually crossed the Pyrenees or that he visited Bishop Martin of Braga, to whom he addressed eulogistic tributes, commending Radegund and Agnes to the bishop (Poems 5.1 and 2) (169).

Fortunatus' poems afford other evidence of his travels at this period. It is clear that he continued to travel between Poitiers and Paris (Poem 8.2). Poem 11.25 records a journey to the aula at Cariac (site unknown), with visits to the monastery at Tincillac and to Angers to celebrate the feast of St. Albinus with Bishop Domitianus. We know of Domitianus that he attended the Council of Tours (between 567 and 570) and the Council of Paris (between 556 and 573) but nothing that will date this journey more precisely. It appears that Fortunatus in writing his Vita Albini aided Domitianus in the development of the cult of the saint, who was abbot of Tincillac from 504 to 529 and then Bishop of Angers. It seems likely that Fortunatus was involved in this work in the 570s.

At some time before 573 the poet visited Nantes and celebrated, amongst other achievements, the completion of the cathedral there by Bishop Felix (Poems 3.4-10). Eufronius of Tours was one of the bishops assembled at the dedication of the church: his death in 573 sets the terminus ad quem for Poem 3.6. There were also visits to Bishop Agricola of Nevers (Poem 3.19), a winter journey to Brittany (Poem 3.26), and in Poem 5.11 the poet has returned to Poitiers from a visit to Tours at an unknown date, probably one visit of many to Gregory.

In the following years, though there was never again (on the evidence of the published poems) a period of public writing for patrons such as the years 567-569, Fortunatus kept in touch with old friends and wrote for many new ones. Many of the poems cannot be dated, or the recipients are unknown. Sigoald (Poems 10.16, 17 and 18), however, Sigismund and Alagesil (Poems 7.20 and 21) are men whom he had first met on his arrival in Gaul and to whom he is still writing some considerable time later.

In 573 Gregory became Bishop of Tours and as such was introduced to the citizens by a formal panegyric from Fortunatus (Poem 5.3). This appears to be the start of a lasting friendship between the two men, Gregory acting as patron in the conventional sense, Fortunatus acting as a literary mentor and guide to the bishop. The first collection of Fortunatus' poems was made on Gregory's prompting and dedicated to him.

The death of Sigibert, murdered in 575 by Fredegund's assassins (170), may well have bound Fortunatus more closely to Poitiers and to the patronage of Gregory. The poet writes a celebration of the conversion of the Jews of Clermont-Ferrand by Bishop Avitus in 576, at the request of Gregory. At some time Gregory gave Fortunatus a villa located very pleasantly on the banks of the Vienne (Poem 8.19.3-6). This villa must have been some distance from Poitiers, since the nearest points of the Vienne are some 35 kilometres north or 25 kilometres east. The gift is recorded in two poems (Poems 8.19 and 20) which are found in the second collection of poems. The poet apparently had a base in or near Poitiers as well (Poem 8.1.13) and it was

possibly from here that he sent Radegund and Agnes the little present of chestnuts and grapes. Looking after his villa on the Vienne would certainly have made demands on the poet's time. In Book 9 he uses the demands of harvesting as an excuse for the delay in sending Gregory some Sapphic verses (Poem 9.6.9-12).

There is no evidence of contact between the poet and Guntram or any of his court (171). Chilperic would have had little tolerance of a man who had mourned the death of Galswinth and who was so closely associated with that project supported by Sigibert, the convent of the Holy Cross. The few poems that do impinge on royal interest after this date are most plausibly interpreted as furthering Gregory's interests. The panegyric to Chilperic, delivered at the synod of bishops at Berny-Rivière in 581, can be analysed as a defence of Gregory at a moment of great danger (Poem 9.1) (172). The consolation to Chilperic and Fredegund on the deaths of their two sons shortly afterwards and the epitaphs for the princes, may also, as Koebner suggests (173) be seen in the light of an attempt at mediation (Poems 9.2-5).

The eventual realignment of the kingdoms after the death of Chilperic was achieved by the Treaty of Andelot on November 17th, 587. Radegund had died in August of that same year. It seems ironic that she was not able to witness this treaty, which achieved so many of the diplomatic ends she had worked for. But in 588 Gregory went to Metz to the court of Childebert and thence with a commission to Guntram in Chalon-sur-Saône, where Guntram gave assurances again that he would abide by the treaty (174). Fortunatus accompanied the bishop to Metz and renewed contact with Brunhild (175). He appears to have remained with the court there, leaving Gregory to travel on alone.

Five poems date from this period: a salutation of the king and queen on St. Martin's day (Poem 10.7), a panegyric to the royal couple (Poem 10.8), a poem about a royal progress down the Moselle and the Rhine (Poem 10.9) and two more poems to Childebert and Brunhild (Appendix 5 and 6).

Fortunatus' close connection with Gregory can be seen not only in the small occasional poems, which probably date throughout this period, but again in 589, when Childebert's tax gatherers visited Tours and Fortunatus greeted them on Gregory's behalf as they dined at the bishop's table (Poem 10.11). In 590 the poet celebrated Gregory's rebuilding of his cathedral (Poem 10.6). Scandal and rebellion broke out in the convent of the Holy Cross soon after Radegund's death (176). Fortunatus appealed to Gregory in two poems for his intervention and assistance (Poems 8.12 and 13). Another link may be seen in the installation as Bishop of Poitiers in 592 of Plato, who had been Gregory's archdeacon. This event was celebrated by Fortunatus (Poem 10.14) and it may have been Plato who ordained Fortunatus as a priest. When Plato died at some time in the 590s, Fortunatus himself became Bishop of Poitiers (177). If this appointment was made through Gregory's influence, it must be dated before 594, the year of Gregory's own death. But there is no certainty on this point.

The wandering poet from Italy who came to Merovingian Gaul seeking his fortune, ended his life as Bishop of Poitiers and was venerated as a saint throughout the middle ages, though he was never formally canonised (178).

6. The collection and publication of the poems

The account given of this subject by Meyer is meticulously argued and needs comment only on minor details (179). Meyer suggests that Fortunatus himself arranged and published, at the request of Gregory, a first collection of poems comprising Books 1 to 8 and headed by the Preface addressed to Gregory. The terms of the Preface, referring in vivid terms to his journey from Italy, make it clear that this foreword does not introduce the entire eleven books, which extend in date to 592/3 at least.

The books are arranged, as Meyer observes, in an orderly fashion. Book 1 contains poems written to bishops or about their churches starting with the two poems possibly written in Italy (Poems 1.1 and 2) and including tributes to Gregory himself and Leontius of Bordeaux. The latest poem in date is Poem 1.5, written for Gregory as Bishop of Tours and therefore to be dated after 573. Book 2 includes the poems on the Holy Cross, with poems relating to churches and clergy in Toulouse and Paris. It includes the celebration of St. Hilary (Poem 2.15.147) and of St. Medard (Poem 2.16). Book 3 contains poems to bishops and clergy, in that order, over a wide range of diocese. All can be dated fairly early in Fortunatus' life in Gaul. Book 4 collects together epitaphs for bishops, clergy and laypeople, again in that order of precedence. Poems 1-10 are about bishops, 11 to 15 about clergy, 16 to 24 about laymen and boys, 25-28 about women. Book 5 again celebrates the living, and contains poems addressed to bishops and mainly to Gregory, ending in sequence of precedence with Poem 5.19 to an abbot, Aredius. Book 6 contains poems addressed to lay people;

in sequence, to a widowed queen and other members of the royal family, and then to lesser folk. Book 7 again addresses lay people - dukes and courtiers, preserving the sequence of social importance by placing Palatina after her husband, Count Bodegesil, but not at the end among sundry courtiers (Poems 7.5 and 6).

Tardi suggests plausibly that this first collection of poems ended with Book 7. Poem 1 of Book 8, ad diversos ex nomine suo, reads convincingly as the introductory poem to a new collection (180). In that case Meyer's arguments for the misplacement of the last poems in Book 7 are strengthened (181). Poem 25, ad Galactorium comitem, must be dated after 584 and so fits uneasily into the first collection of poems. Meyer would also like to banish Poems 23 and 24 of Book 7. Poem 23 is queried on the grounds that decorative mottoes are trifling matters and they are not attached in any way to a specific person, as all the other poems are. On this argument, however, the poem should not be included in any collection of Fortunatus' verse. If it is to be included, the tailend of the final book of the collection, following the observable sequence of arrangement, would be the most natural position. Meyer also queries the positioning of Poem 7.23, ad Paternum, an ecclesiastic, on the grounds that this sits oddly after poems to lay people. This seems reasonable.

The transposition of Poems 7.25 and 23 to the end of Book 10 is plausible, given the corrupt state of the manuscript tradition for the eleven books. And if Book 7 is indeed the final book of the first collection, it would have been all the easier for two stray poems to have been tacked on there, slightly displacing the original final poem, Poem 7.24.

The first collection is clearly dated after the consecration of Gregory as Bishop of Tours in 573, as the Preface and the contents show. Tardi argues that it is dated almost immediately after that event, in 573/4. The inclusion in the collection of Poem 5.5, on the conversion of the Jews of Clermont-Ferrand by Bishop Avitus in 576, must however defer the publication to after that date.

Book 8 contains the more public and formal poems about Radegund and the convent of the Holy Cross, and poems to Gregory. Book 9 includes a wider variety of poems than any previous book. They are arranged in roughly the same order as before: poems to royalty, to bishops, lesser clergy and lay people. The consolations and the two epitaphs for the dead sons of Chilperic and Fredegund are inserted in chronological order after the panegyric to Chilperic, which was delivered at Berny-Rivière shortly before the princes' deaths. This arrangement combines poems for the dead with those for the living in a way not done in the first collection. As Meyer observes, Book 9 is a small and compacted version of the larger scope of the earlier books and reveals the same careful ordering of poems. The poems range from the panegyric to Chilperic and the poems connected with the princes' deaths (Poems 9.1-5), to Sapphics for Gregory (Poems 9.6 and 7). Poem 9.8 eulogises a Bishop Baudoald, placed tentatively by Duchesne in Meaux in the second half of the century (182). Sidonius of Mainz is addressed in Poem 9.9. Meyer suggests that this poem was written in 566/7, at the same time as Poems 2.11 and 12, which praise the bishop's building work, and that the poem was included in a later collection because Fortunatus did not have a copy of it earlier. This does not seem an entirely plausible explanation, since the poet is

likely to have kept copies of his writings. However, we have no record of a visit by Fortunatus to Austrasia before the journey with Gregory in 587. While it is just possible that Sidonius' mysterious successor, Thaumastus, was appointed and banished rapidly enough to leave Sigimund firmly in post in 589, a reign of forty years for Sidonius seems unlikely (183). So either Sidonius and Fortunatus met on some unknown occasion earlier or this poem is indeed, for some indeterminable reason, out of chronological order.

Poems 9.10 to 14 have a Parisian connection, being to ecclesiastics of that diocese. The final poem is to Duke Chrodin, written before the duke's death in 582 (184).

As Meyer suggests, this book represents poems from Poitiers and Neustria under Chilperic, for the period 577 to 584 (with the exception of the problematic Poem 9.9).

Book 10 contains later poems focused on Poitiers and its new rulers after the Treaty of Andelot, Childebert II and Brunhild. The latest identifiable date is given by the address to Plato, as Bishop of Poitiers, which puts the poem after 591/2. The first piece is a prose dissertation on the Lord's prayer, which appears to be incomplete. This is followed by letters to laymen (Poems 2 to 4). Poem 5 deals with the same subject as Poem 10. In Poem 6 two drafts seem to be placed side by side. Then follow the poems to Brunhild and Childebert II. The remaining poems come in the sequence observed in the first collection: poems on a saint and a church (Poems 10 and 11), and on bishops (Poems 12-14). Poem 15 is addressed to Armentaria, no doubt in that favoured position as mother of Gregory. The remainder of the book consists of poems to laymen. The book gives the impression of a

certain disorder and lack of finish. Book 11 contains a large collection of smaller, informal poems inspired by life in the convent in Poitiers. None of these can be dated except by the death of Radegund, and may stretch over the entire period of Fortunatus' life in Poitiers.

Koebner suggests that, if Poems 10.1 to 6 are set aside, the two books show the familiar ordered sequence, Book 11 being similar to Book 8 in its concentration on poems to Radegund and Agnes. Poems 10.1 to 6 could have been added later and ineptly by an editor or a scribe. If this is so, the original substance of these two books may have been published as a separate third collection at some time after 591/2. Meyer suggests that these two last books were put together by friends after Fortunatus' death with less care than the poet himself would have exercised and included personal poems to Radegund and Agnes which Fortunatus had been unwilling to publish in his, or their, lifetime. On this latter point, Fortunatus may have been willing to publish the poems after the deaths of Radegund and Agnes, possibly in an attempt to re-establish the cultural status and reputation of the convent after the scandal and disruption. But there are no decisive arguments either way. The matter is only one of probability.

But whatever view is taken, the second collection published by Fortunatus comprises Books 8 and 9 and thus gives a more substantial array of poems than the solitary Book 9 suggested by Meyer.

The general picture emerges therefore of three stages of collection and publication of Fortunatus' poems. In 576 Fortunatus produced the first collection of poems, Books 1 to 7, which had been written over some ten years, and dedicated them to Gregory. The second collection,

Books 8 and 9, dates to just before Radegund's death in 587. Then there are two possibilities. Firstly, that after the poet's death, friends put together a more assorted collection of poems, together with the personal poems to Agnes and Radegund, in Books 10, 11 and Appendix 10 to 31. Alternatively, Books 10 and 11 were published by Fortunatus himself as a third collection of poems, after Radegund and Agnes were dead (185).

CHAPTER TWO

FORTUNATUS' ROLE AS A POET

Fortunatus' success in establishing himself in Gaul and his long and active career as a writer there can be explained in general terms, as Auerbach suggests (1), by the fact that he was "by far the best purveyor of a commodity that was in great demand". We need, however, to explore in greater detail what exactly that commodity was and why it was so highly valued.

A general account has been given in the previous chapter of the voluntary assimilation by the Franks of Roman ways and values and the resolute adherence by Gallo-Romans to their own cultural traditions. During the course of the sixth century Romanitas became, if anything, of more conscious importance to both these racial groups.

Life was still lived in surroundings which put a Roman imprint on everyday affairs. There were still in use Roman city walls, roads and villas. Administrative buildings were often those used by the earlier Roman administration. (2) The Franks had seen the practical advantages of Romanisation even before the defeat of Syagrius, as has already been said. These advantages were even more apparent when they were fully established in power. Roman legal and administrative systems facilitated the exercise of that power, literacy and numeracy became important as general social skills. The value set upon the slave Andarchus and his use by Sigibert in the public service for his

knowledge of arithmetic, the Theodosian code and Vergil epitomises the areas of knowledge and skill felt essential by the Merovingians for the effective administration of their kingdoms (3). The development of the Merovingian chancelleries demonstrates the successful adoption of Roman systems by the Frankish kings. Indeed, such was the standard of work in the chancelleries that as late as the seventh century the notaries still took great pains to be true to the standards of classical Latin and to observe the rules of metrical prose and rhetoric (4).

At the same time, from the moment when Clovis received letters from Anastasius appointing him as consul, the Merovingians also appear to have coveted the role of heirs to the cultural traditions of Roman Gaul. Procopius records horse races at Arles and gold coins struck with an image of the king upon them (5). A gold solidus of Theudebert from the mint at Cologne shows on the obverse the king's image with shield and spear, and on the reverse, the king holding a palm and a figure of victory, trampling his enemy underfoot. The legend reads THEODEBERTUS VICTOR. Such victory coins, using as exemplars coins of Justinian and Valentinian III, continued to be issued by Merovingian kings: by Sigibert and Gutram, for example, and then by Childebert II (6). Chilperic restored the amphitheatres in Soissons and Paris (7) and took great pride in the imperial medals sent to him by Tiberius (8).

Beyond this level of public show and propaganda it is evident that the balance of real power and influence between the Franks and the Gallo-Romans was slowly shifting throughout the sixth century, bringing with the change a need to assert or clarify national and

cultural identities. It was precisely during the second half of the sixth century that there was a considerable fusion between the Gallo-Roman aristocracy and the Frankish nobles, both in secular and ecclesiastical spheres (9). In the episcopate the relative strength of Franks to Gallo-Romans varied from area to area, with Gallo-Romans predominating in the south. But there was a general steady increase in the number of Frankish bishops over the country during this period (10). In secular circles, the earlier preponderance of Gallo-Roman names among the ranks of the comites changes to a more equal distribution between Franks and Gallo-Romans by the second half of the sixth century, though again the balance varies from region to region (11). It is, however, the case that the apparently high incidence of intermarriage between the two racial groups and the habit of both groups of adopting names from the other makes the picture far from clear (12). Duke Lupus, for example, a Frank with a Roman name, had a brother, Magnulf (Frankish name) and two sons, Romulf (Frankish name) and Johannes (Roman name).

But in general it is apparent that, whilst the Gallo-Romans had been under unfamiliar and severe pressures during the fifth century, in the sixth century direct political power and influence had declined to a fraction of what these families could remember possessing. Roman municipal government had collapsed, the pattern of life had been seriously disrupted by foreign invasion and by the chaos of continuous warfare. In addition their power was now in the sixth century more directly counterbalanced by that of an alternative Frankish aristocracy whose influence steadily gained ground throughout the century. Under such pressure, it is understandable that they should attempt to assert

their identity and to establish continuity with the traditions of the past. It is typical of a threatened minority group that it becomes extraordinarily aware of its identity and sensitive to anything which reflects or establishes it.

An important part of Romanitas is the Roman literary tradition. With the arrival of Fortunatus the Gallo-Romans now had in their generation a counterpart of Sidonius Apollinaris or Ausonius, a poet who not only carried on the general Latin literary traditions but who also spoke from their midst for specifically local and personal occasions. In his public poems Fortunatus mirrors family concerns with their ancestry, with their Roman life-style, with the ways in which they were now able to exercise power and carry on Roman administrative traditions. Panegyrics, encomia and epitaphs highlight family connections and achievements in traditional fashion. This is especially noticeable in the case of the epitaphs where ten of the eleven bishops commemorated are portrayed in terms implying senatorial nobility (13). The poet's panegyrics and encomia, eulogising life dedicated to the public service, belong to the general literary tradition but also perhaps brought to the mind of his audience the more local memory of Sidonius in these genres (14). The epitaphs too stand in a long tradition but also evoke the Gallic commemoration by Sidonius of his grandfather, Apollinarius, praetorian prefect in Gaul in 408 under Constantine II (15). The poems written by Fortunatus in praise of Bishop Leontius' villas celebrate nostalgically an obsolescent way of life (16), a lifestyle evoked also by the exchange of shorter occasional poems, the writing of Sapphic verses for Gregory of Tours (17) and so on.

Fortunatus also reflects the transmutation of Roman power and values in a Christian ecclesiastical setting. Heaven for his patrons is depicted as a senatorial paradise:

Felices qui sic de nobilitate fugaci
 mercati in caelis iura senatus habent

(Poem 4.5.19-20)

(Blessed are those who thus ~~exchange~~ their swift-passing years
 as nobles to enjoy in heaven senatorial powers).

As bishops, these Gallo-Romans are responsible for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of their people. Fortunatus celebrates their Christian virtues in public service in the tradition of their pagan ancestors; he eulogises their building of churches and shrines, as Statius, for example, once celebrated the building of spectacular villas.

This can be seen most clearly in an extreme form in the case of Bordeaux and its bishop, Leontius. Bordeaux had noble cultural traditions as the former home of the Roman rhetorical schools and of the poet Ausonius, traditions of which it was very conscious (18). Leontius did all he could to foster these traditions, having great ambitions for himself and for his city. These Fortunatus reflects not only in a hymn celebrating the bishop's triumph over some disaffection, but also in a formal panegyric, in poems with distinctly Vergilian echoes lauding his villas, as well as encomia on his many church buildings. Bordeaux was a Roman court in miniature, celebrated by its resident poet (19).

At the same time there was clearly pressure from the emerging Frankish aristocracy to establish a cultural identity at a level beyond that of coins and horse races. Their active interest in a Roman education has already been described. At the highest social level Fortunatus' panegyrics for the Merovingian kings reflect their wish to appear legitimate rulers in the Roman tradition. The Frankish monarchy was a complex composite of Germanic kingship, of the values of orthodox Christianity and the traditions of Roman government. This is mirrored in Fortunatus' images of the Franks as duly established rulers, continuing the Roman tradition of administration and government in Gaul and also acting as Christian defenders of their realm. The use of panegyric in itself makes this point; the subtle choice of imagery, exempla and wording within the poems reinforces it (20). In writing for Frankish nobles and bishops, Fortunatus records their achievements and power in Roman terms, as he does for the Gallo-Romans (21). Panegyrics compliment Duke Lupus and Condan, epitaphs trace meritorious public service, encomia record public and ecclesiastical building, small poems grace private occasions.

The argument on this point is circular to an extent: the Franks wanted a Roman cultural identity, because that was what Fortunatus gave them - therefore we conclude that that is what they wanted. But Fortunatus' patronage by the Franks is certainly extensive and of a pattern with their increasing use of other facets of Roman life: law, administration, public building and so on.

The complication in considering Fortunatus' work for the Franks, compared with that for the Gallo-Romans, is that it is presented

through the double distortion of a language which is not native to it and literary genres which may impose alien images and concepts. Fortunatus and the Gallo-Romans come from the same social and cultural background. There is no reason to suppose that they did not see themselves as he saw and represented them. But, as Reydellet observes in discussing Fortunatus' portrayal of Merovingian kingship (22), there may be a gap between the way the Merovingians thought of their kings and the way in which Fortunatus portrayed their kingship, seeing and expressing it through Roman concepts and words. By extension, this may apply to his portrayal of other social roles and characteristics in the case of the Franks. Since our sources are Roman or Romanised, there is no way of establishing a control in this situation. But it is interesting to speculate that Fortunatus, in providing this commodity which, to judge from Frankish patronage, they so clearly wanted, may not only have reflected ambitions and images but actually helped to create and realise them. The Franks are seen and see themselves through the filter of Roman imperial rhetoric. The image reflects but also extends and develops their aspirations.

In general, then, both racial groups had a need for the Romanitas embodied in Fortunatus' verse: the Gallo-Romans as an almost defensive restatement of their power and identity in Gaul in the face of its threatened erosion, the Franks as a formulation of the position they were creating for themselves in cultural as well as political terms.

Four poems in particular exemplify the way in which Fortunatus presented himself to both Gallo-Roman and Frankish patrons, the role he saw himself playing and which others, in turn, demanded of him.

In the first two, poems 7.8 Ad eundem (i.e. Lupum ducem) and 5.5 Ad eundem (i.e. Gregorium episcopum) de Iudaeis conversis per Avitum episcopum Arvernensem, we can see different facets of the relationship between poet and patron and of the patron's interest in literature. In the second two, Poems 6.8 De Coco qui ipsi navem tulit and 10.9 De navigio suo, the poet speaks autobiographically, explicitly and implicitly commenting on his own status and role.

1. Poem 7.8 to Duke Lupus of Champagne

The patron addressed in Poem 7.8, Duke Lupus of Champagne, was an eminent member of Sigibert's court in Metz (23) who had befriended Fortunatus on his arrival from Italy (24). The poet wrote one poem to Lupus' brother, Magnulf, (Poem 7.10) and three to Lupus himself (Poems 7.7, 8 and 9). Lupus' residence, as Duke of Champagne, was in Rheims, also the king's main residence. The Duke served Sigibert well in both military and diplomatic spheres. Fortunatus records his contribution to a victory over the Saxons and the Danes (25), Gregory of Tours mentions his presence on an embassy to Marseilles (26) and comments admiringly on the Duke's skill in surviving in an office which had a high mortality rate (27). After Sigibert's death, he gave his support to Brunhild, for which he was harried by Eligidius, Bishop of Rheims, and others, but given refuge by Guntram (28). After the Treaty of Andelot in 587, he rejoined Brunhild's court (29) and made his peace with Eligidius (30). Family honour was perhaps satisfied, however, when his son, Romulf, succeeded as the next Bishop of Rheims

when Igidius was condemned on various charges of intrigue and corruption and driven into exile (31).

The three poems to Lupus cannot be dated with any certainty. Poem 7.9 speaks of Fortunatus as being in his ninth year of exile from Italy (line 7). The timescale implicit here, as discussed above (32), would suggest an approximate date of 574 and would fit Meyer's suggestion that the poem was sent from Poitiers to Austrasia (33). The references in the other two poems to Lupus' diplomatic activity (Poem 7.7.25), his judicial role as Dux (Poem 7.7.37-42), and his military successes (Poem 7.7.49-60 and 7.8.65-68) do not give any clear indication of the date of the poems. The context and date of Poem 7.7 will be discussed in a later chapter (34). Since, however, Lupus' early support and friendship for Fortunatus is considered in retrospect in Poem 7.8, it seems reasonable to suggest a date nearer to 574 and the place of writing as Poitiers (35) rather than an early poem written in Metz in 566/7. The fears for Lupus' safety which Fortunatus has had allayed (lines 31-32), may have arisen from some event in the bitter fighting between Sigibert and Chilperic around 574 (36), but there is no specific evidence on this point.

Poem 7.8 begins with a dramatic description of the land parched by the terrible heat of summer, barren of people and of human habitation. The effect of the heat is seen on the earth and the plants, the soft-leaved foliage withering quickly and even the more sturdy trees badly affected (lines 1-6). Then animals are seen in distress from the heat and drought - the dog panting, the heifers and horses desperately abandoning their pastures in search of water and shade (lines 7-10). In the midst of this desert appears a solitary

figure, a chance traveller hit by the full force of the sun, as the plants and animals have been (line 11). The echo in accensis comis of line 12 of glaucas contrahit herba comas in line 4 underlines his similar affliction. His desperation is depicted vividly: he hopes even for a sip of water or the shade of a single tree. He cannot hope for the densely massed shade of the grove in line 6, but only now for the shadow of a slender ~~tree~~ (lines 13-16). A sudden mirage of relief is suggested by the subjunctives in lines 17 and 18. If such an oasis appeared, the traveller's reaction would be to stretch full-length on the grass and burst into song - whatever he knows, a psalm or lines from the classics of Vergil or Homer. This is a hostile landscape, its aridity emphasised by the fact that no-one lives here. Only a chance traveller happens upon it and his relief lies in the realms of fantasy, not of fact (37).

Abruptly the whole vivid scene is transformed into a simile by line 31, with the phrase sic ego.... The exhausted plight of the traveller is linked to Fortunatus' own suffering:

sic ego curarum valido defessus ab aestu...

(thus I, wearied by the strong ~~fever~~ of cares...),

the wording echoing that of lines 7 and 18. Fortunatus' concern for Lupus, his own aestus curarum, has been prefigured by the physical aestus of July: his relief on knowing that Lupus is safe and well is like that of the distraught traveller on finding an oasis.

Immediately there follow twenty six lines of eulogy of Lupus.

Fortunatus, like his traveller, bursts into songs of joy in his

relief. Details of Lupus' fine qualities are set out (lines 33-48) with an explanation of the reason for Fortunatus' special devotion to Lupus: namely, the Duke's kind patronage of Fortunatus when he first arrived in Gaul.

After this burst of praise and gratitude there comes a final section which parallels the earlier lines on the different traditions of eulogy (lines 23-30). There the traveller in his joyful reaction sang what he knew of the psalms or the classics. Here the subject is Lupus and the different nationalities praise him in their various ways for his greatness as a judge and general, the barbarian contribution being underlined by the loan words, crotta and leudos (lines 64 and 69). Fortunatus himself pays tribute to Lupus, a Latin poet adding his versiculi (line 69).

The preliminary atmospheric description of the countryside creates a feeling of tension and distress which builds up from the reactions of plants and animals to the heat, to acute human suffering, which is then relieved and refreshed by the traveller's oasis. This vignette is vivid and interesting in itself. The poet then reveals its further significance, a significance which has been foreshadowed by the details and wording of the original description of the scene with the traveller.

The explicit application of the traveller's experience is to the distress and the relief Fortunatus has experienced at some crisis in Lupus' life. The fact that the emotion is first felt by a traveller struggling through difficult and hostile country is part of the picture Fortunatus is creating, but has no special significance until line 49. There the point of this particular setting for distress

becomes clear. The image not only reflects Fortunatus' present emotions but also recalls the very similar feelings he had on an earlier occasion when he himself was literally a traveller, a desolate stranger in a foreign and potentially hostile country. On that occasion it was Lupus who had rescued Fortunatus from his desperation. So the viator of line 11 is taken up by the peregrina of line 49. It is also conceivable that the circumstances of Fortunatus' journey to Gaul, the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin in thanks for his cure from eye trouble, may be suggested by the imagery of light and brightness in lines 45-52, though this is primarily the aura of Lupus' glory.

The transition from viator to peregrina intensifies the emotional impact of the scene, an increased pathos which redounds all the more to Lupus' credit as Fortunatus' own relief on that historic occasion is so much stronger than that of this traveller. The traveller merely

placidis ... laetus sternitur arvis,

(stretches out happily on the gentle pastures)

(line 19),

whereas Fortunatus claims that

credidi in ambrosiis me recubare rosis.

(I believed I lay amongst ambrosial roses).

(line 54)

So the image of the traveller is seen to have so much more

significance than it did even at the point of the denouement of the simile in line 31, in view of the circumstances in which Fortunatus first met Lupus and the special reasons for his concern and admiration for him.

There are further details in the description of the traveller which are worked out even more fully and elaborately in order to compliment Lupus. The Duke, as has been seen, set a high value on learning in general and on classical learning in particular, this being evident both in his patronage of Fortunatus and his interest in the slave, Andarchius (39). This poem not only praises him directly for his virtues, but indirectly, and thereby perhaps more flatteringly, compliments him for this love of learning and appreciation of literature.

Fortunatus twice rehearses the various modes of offering praise and thanksgiving, once in his traveller's range of poems and psalms and again at the end of the poem by summoning the various nationalities to sing Lupus' praises in their own fashion. The last ten lines catalogue the public offices and services of Lupus which are to be the subject of general praise. Fortunatus has appeared to remove himself from this arena with the traditional gesture of self-deprecation (line 58), though the identification of himself with the traveller is not complete unless he too sings in joy and relief. So the completion of the parallel, the identification of this poem itself as the offering of praise, is made by the detailed choice of word and phrase.

Fortunatus suggested that the traveller in his joy would break into song from the classics and from the psalms. This is *not* a casual or

brief comment. An entire couplet is devoted to each alternative (lines 25-28). The poem, following through this idea, is itself that song, echoing both the classical and the biblical tradition.

The first section, the description of the parched countryside and the weary traveller (lines 1-22) is couched in traditional classical terms. The atmosphere is created by close echoes rather than by the precise re-use of phrases. The following points show the strongest similarities between Fortunatus' wording and classical nature description:

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| explicat (line 3) | - Vergil, Georg. 2.335: pampinus
... frondes explicat omnes. |
| frigida tecta (line 6) | - Vergil, Georg. 4.104: ... et
frigida tecta relinquunt. |
| irriguas (line 14) | - Vergil, Georg. 4.32: irriguumque
bibant violaria fontem.
cf. Ovid, Am. 2.16.2. |
| vitrei (line 18) | - Vergil, Aen. 7.759: vitrea...
unda....
cf. Ovid, Met. 5.48; Horace, Car.
4.2.3. |
| toros (line 20) | - Ovid, Fast. 1.402: gramine
vestitis accumulare toris.
cf. Ovid, Her. 5.14, Met. 8.655. |
| aestifer (line 1) | - (of sun and stars) Vergil, Georg.
2.353: ... ubi hiulca siti findit
Canis aestifer arva. |

cf. Statius, Theb. 4.692.

urit (line 1)

- Ovid, Met. 6.339: cum sol gravis
ureret arva ...

cf. Horace, Car. 3.4.81 ...

urentes harenas.

These and other less close echoes establish this as a classical set piece which turns out to be the description both of Fortunatus' recent anxiety for Lupus and also of his own earlier desolation from which Lupus rescued him - perhaps, as in the case of Andarchius, precisely for his knowledge of Vergil. The compliment is subtle and complex; the reference to Fortunatus' strong admiration *for and gratitude* to Lupus and the explanation of its cause is so worded that Lupus' recognition of the reason for that particular form of expression is in itself a compliment to him.

Fortunatus has also suggested that his traveller might sing psalms in joy and relief. After the identification of the simile, the section addressed in praise of Lupus (lines 33-44) is couched in preponderantly biblical terms, as the following points show:

pagina cordis...tabulis ... - Vulgate, Prov. 3.3: describe in

(lines 34-35) tabulis cordis tui. cf. 2 Cor. 3.3.

arca (line 36)

- in this biblical context, the Old Testament reference is clear. v.
Vulgate, Deut.10.8: arca foederis.
cf. Vulgate, Num. 10.30 etc.

thesaurus pietatis (line 37) - Vulgate, Eccl. 20.32: sapientia

absconsa et thesaurus invisus,
 quae utilitas in utrisque?
 cf. Vulgate, Ecclⁱ 3023 ...
 thesaurus ... sanctitatis.
 cf. Vulgate, Prov. 10.2, Col. 2.3
 etc.

talenta (line 38)

- the New Testament parable of the
 talents. v. Vulgate, Matth. 18.
 23-25, 25.14-30.

sensus aromaticus
 (lines 41-42)

- Vulgate, Cant. Cant. 4.11: et odor
 vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor
 thuris.

melle saporatum (line 43)

- Vulgate, Cant. Cant. 4.11: favus
 distillans labia tua, sponsa; mel
 et lac sub lingua tua.

sale conditum (line 44)

- Vulgate, Job. 6.6: aut poterit
 comedi insulsum quod non est sale
 conditum.
 cf. Vulgate, Col. 4.6;
 Matth. 5.13: vos estis sal
 terrae.

Fortunatus has therefore followed his simile through completely in
 the very process of expressing that simile and voiced his joy in both
 classical and biblical terms, as his traveller did.

The construction of this picture of countryside overlaid by
 quivering, enervating heat is therefore a complex one. What appears

at the beginning as a lively and dramatic description dissolves into a simile. The detail, given as an intrinsic part of the description at this stage, appears in retrospect to have been used also to give the simile reference to the particular circumstances of Fortunatus and his patron. On a further level still the language is also used specifically for the complex self-referring purpose of the poem. The care and the success of this construction at all levels testify to the poet's skill in writing a vivid description with a depth of allusion which enriches and develops the theme but does not blur the original picture.

This is a subtle and moving poem, using the familiar technique of a nature scene which dissolves into thoughts of deeper significance. Lupus is a Frank who, even from Gregory of Tours' brief note in reference to Andarchius, would have been marked as a man with an interest in Roman culture. This poem suggests how deep that interest was. Lupus' use of Andarchius could have derived merely from an appreciation of the administrative applications of his skills. The character of this poem suggests that the Duke had a more positive interest in Vergil and the classics. The news that a patron had had an escape from danger could have evoked a poem of the degree of banality of the encomium to Bodegesil, for example (Poem 7.5) (40). The complexity of this poem, in its structure and its language, however, shows Fortunatus' reliance on his reader's ability to pick up classical and biblical references. These allusions are not private displays of erudition but acknowledgements of shared culture, and as such are a great compliment to Lupus, implying and active interest in, and knowledge of, Latin writings, both of the pagan classics and

of the bible.

Though the poem is written for an occasion, the nature of that occasion does not demand a set pattern of address in the way in which an adventus ceremony requires a certain sequence of set motifs of panegyric. We may speculate about the poet's motive in writing the poem. Does Fortunatus merely want to keep in contact with a useful patron? Or is there, behind the words, real relief for Lupus' well-being? Whatever the answer to these questions, the important point is that the form and content of the poem are not pre-set by the occasion and therefore reflect more openly than, for example, a panegyric, the relationship of the poet and his patron and the way in which they view themselves. Fortunatus presents himself as a Latin poet, representing that literary tradition with his versiculi, in explicit contra-distinction from the Frankish bards with their songs. What he offers is a complex product of that tradition. Lupus is seen as a man who, though he is a Frank, yet values highly what is Roman and, more specifically, Roman literature. His patronage of Fortunatus enables the poet to extend the Latin tradition explicitly to a Frank, in the expectation that he will appreciate and understand its nuances and subtleties.

2. Poem 5.5 to Bishop Gregory of Tours

In contrast to Duke Lupus, Gregory of Tours is a Gallo-Roman of impeccably aristocratic Roman lineage and well-attested literary interest. The historical and social aspects of his patronage of

Fortunatus have been well-explored by Brennan. The literary expressions of this long friendship will be considered in detail in a later chapter (41). At this point, however, consideration of Poem 5.5, written on the occasion of the conversion of the Jews of Clermont-Ferrand by Bishop Avitus, illuminates further aspects of Fortunatus' role and work in Merovingian society. The poem is of interest not only for the poetic techniques used, the images and values it reflects, but also because it was written about an occasion we have other evidence for. This evidence comes from Gregory himself (42) and does not therefore represent a strongly independent or differing view. Yet the information gives a more detailed and circumstantial context for the poem than is usually the case. For the moment we shall consider only the circumstances and reasons for writing the poem, leaving analysis of its literary technique to a later chapter (43).

The Merovingians were in general tolerant of the Jews, regularly granting them privileges (such as the right to observe the Sabbath and to deal with cases of religious law in their own courts) but banning them, for example, from proselytism, especially of Christian slaves. Attitudes to them in particular circumstances and places are an inextricable compound of religion and politics, though there are very few examples of Jews being disadvantaged seriously in any way any more than other classes or groups might be from time to time. The implications of legislation and action against them, indeed, are that they often formed a class of well-educated administrators and officials whose Jewishness was more often a convenient political rod with which to beat them, than a matter giving rise on its own to

serious religious offence(44). Opposition to them from the church, seen in the canons of Councils attempting to limit their civic or religious freedom, may be read as a compound of Christian evangelism and an attempt to curtail the power of a sector of the community not controlled by loyalty to church hierarchies through Christian commitment. This opposition was, however, unsystematic and sporadic. Of the church Councils between 561 and 583, for example, only the Council of Macon in 583 mentions restrictions to be put on Jews. The church in general seems to have followed the attitude of Gregory the Great in disapproving of the aggressive anti-Semitism and enforced baptism of the Jews practised by such as Theodore of Marseilles and Vergil of Arles (45), in the hope that gentler means would bring enlightenment and conversion(46).

Royal attitudes to the Jews can be seen indirectly and ambiguously in the canons of the various Councils convened in their kingdoms, whilst their rare individual acts involving Jews are difficult to interpret (47).

In spite of this royal restraint and the reasoned tolerance of the upper echelons of the church, there might yet have been considerable tension between Jews and the rest of the community in everyday life in certain places. The parallel with policies and attitudes to coloured people in Britain at this time is obvious. The Jewish synagogue in Orleans was destroyed by a Christian mob some time before 395 (48), as was the synagogue in Clermont on the occasion of which Fortunatus is writing. Pseudo-Severus of Minorca in a seventh century forgery apparently derived from the record of events in Clermont, describes a situation in which the existence of Jews in a community

is seen as intolerably divisive and dangerous (49). In these circumstances the political strength, wealth and ability of the Jews to defend themselves (50) may have served only to exacerbate the situation in the classic pattern of escalation of civil strife.

Clermont-Ferrand appears to be a town where the Jews as a minority group played a strong factional role in local politics, with the result that certain people felt that the religion which gave them their identity and facilitated this disruptive activity could no longer be tolerated. A Jewish community had been established there at least since late Roman times. (51) King Theuderic had appointed as bishop Gallus (Gregory's uncle), a man tolerant of the Jews (52) who continued in office under Theudebert and Theudebald. Cautinus, his successor, was appointed by the king in 551 to the pleasure of the Jews but not without considerable opposition from local factions (53). Gregory speaks ill of his character (54), especially condemning his lack of interest in literature and in the conversion of Jews, who are said to have taken advantage of the bishop. Cautinus' reign was considerably disturbed by the active hostility of Chramm, son of King Lothar, then living in Clermont. Local tensions were given a national dimension by being augmented by the struggles between Chramm and his father, with the involvement of Childbert I as well (55). Personal animosities, royal feuds, local factions were all inextricably entwined with pro- or anti-Semitic stances. Cautinus died on March 27th, 571, in the plague which ravaged the area at that time (56). A local priest, Eufrasius, used money obtained in bribes from Jews to obtain the bishopric. Avitus, however, supported by the clergy and people, though opposed by the local count, Firminus, was

appointed by Sigibert and consecrated in Metz (57). Very recent history, therefore, may well have convinced Avitus that the Jews were an undesirable group, not only from his own personal point of view, but on the more general point of principle that they were interfering in and corrupting church practices (58).

Gregory of Tours and, through him, Fortunatus had a keen interest in Avitus and the affairs of Clermont. Avitus was the man largely responsible for the upbringing and education of Gregory after the death of his uncle, Gallus, who was his first guardian. Gregory speaks of his debt to Avitus for imbuing him with a love of learning (59) and Fortunatus addresses three poems to Avitus in tones of respectful affection (Poems 3.21, 22 and 22a).

The poem on the conversion of the Jews in Clermont in 576 was set in a context which is explained more fully by Gregory's account of the incident (60). Avitus, Gregory records, had recently attempted the conversion of the Jews by theological argument. His motives, as has been said, may be seen as partly religious but also as deriving from a concern to allay the factional strife which had been so disruptive during the reign of his predecessor and at his own election. In all this the Jews were clearly identified as a group who might be allied powerfully on one side or the other but who essentially had no intrinsic loyalty to the church establishment as such. To break up this group would be a triumph of Christian evangelism and would also blur the identity and thus diminish the strength of the faction. Avitus' efforts on this occasion were successful in one case only and the convert joined in the procession of catechumens to the cathedral on Easter Day. As the procession

went by the Jewish houses, the man was doused with rancid oil in mockery of the holy unction received by catechumens. The Christians wanted to stone the offending Jews but were calmed by Avitus. On Ascension Day, May 14th, however, part of the crowd sidetracked from the bishop's procession and razed the synagogue to the ground. Avitus a little later urged the Jews' conversion in peaceable terms, speaking to them as a shepherd to a straying flock. Though he said he would not use force, the alternative to conversion was given as exile from the city. About 500 Jews were converted, baptised and anointed on the eve of Whitsun (May 24th), the numbers so great that Gregory reports that albeabat tota civitas de grege candido (the whole city was white with the brightly clad throng) (60). The remainder went to Marseilles (where the forceful tactics of Bishop Theodore against the Jewish community were later reprimanded by Gregory the Great) (61).

Fortunatus speaks of his poem in praise of Avitus' work as having been requested by Gregory and written under some pressure (sect. 2). He had only two days in which to complete the poem for the waiting messenger and send it off to the bishop (lines 139-140). The poem was written, therefore, soon after Whitsun 576 (62). There is no particular trace of hurried writing in the main sections of the poem. The motives and the visual imagery are carried through coherently; the story is told dramatically and gives an effective account of Avitus' handling of a difficult situation. The final section (lines 137-150) is addressed to Gregory himself. Fortunatus protests his incompetence, especially to write a poem in two days with a messenger standing over him. But Gregory's impatience is turned to a

compliment on his love and loyalty to Avitus (lines 141-146) and the poem ends in blessings and commendations. This last section perhaps shows signs of haste. Fortunatus has already commented in the prose introduction on the situation, on Gregory's urgency, and on his own unworthiness, and the main section of the poem on Avitus ends firmly with a recapitulation of motifs (63). The additional fourteen lines unbalance the emphasis. From a purely stylistic point of view, the section is unfortunate. But it is possible that, if the poem were declaimed at Whitsun 577 or at some earlier celebration, these lines, together with the prose introduction, would have been omitted. The final section is interesting, however, from the point of Fortunatus' involvement. The conversion of 500 Jews was a great ecclesiastical coup and Gregory is obviously very excited about it. It is revealing that one of his reactions is to send a messenger post-haste to Fortunatus to have a poem written about the occasion - and written fast. Fortunatus comments elsewhere to Childbert II that royal success is not complete without the celebration of it in verse (64). Gregory clearly applies this principle to ecclesiastical triumphs also. A literary accolade is part of the celebrations.

Fortunatus' tone to Gregory is interesting also. The formal prose introduction is convoluted and over-written, as Fortunatus' prose almost invariably is. But the final verse section, repeating the same ideas, seems affectionate and gently teasing. The protest about Gregory's impatience is immediately offset by the understanding explanation:

novimus, affectu potius quo diligis illum

hinc quem corde vides semper et ore tenes.

(lines 141-142)

(I realise your strong love for him, whose image is always in
your heart, and so whose name is always on your lips).

And, with a forgiving and amused shrug,

hoc tibi nec satis est, huius quod es ipse relator:

compellis reliquos plaudere voce sibi.

(lines 143-144)

(It is not enough for you to tell the story yourself; you
make everyone else join in with their praises).

The final section turns a dramatic and vivid presentation into a personal, family celebration. The picture of Avitus celebrating the feast of Whitsun is given another dimension by Gregory's excitement and eagerness to broadcast the news, and to see it properly recognised.

Fortunatus' account and attitude here tally closely with Gregory's as one would expect. Gregory was the main, if not the only, source of his information (line 143) and he is in strong sympathy with Gregory and Avitus. Avitus, unlike his lackadaisical predecessor, had long been trying to achieve this conversion. Gregory and Fortunatus are delighted with his eventual success. Fortunatus' account is lengthier and more dramatic than that given later by Gregory in the *Historia Francorum* (65); Gregory's is smoother and more rational. But the conversion of the Jews by Avitus was a great ecclesiastical triumph,

a signal achievement by the man who had taken the place of Gregory's father. It is significant that the bishop's reaction was to send immediately to Fortunatus with the news and ask him to write in celebration. It is significant too that the poet writes so rapidly and with such conviction. There is no reason to disbelieve his comment on the speed required. And no sense is given in the poem that it was no more than an obligation. The poet, from his own convictions, identifies with the aims of Gregory and Avitus. He commends elsewhere the similar, though smaller scale conversions by Germanus (66). The poem which Gregory requests has a role to play in the celebrations quite distinct from that of the historical account Gregory himself produced some years later. The poem was part of the celebrations and, like the poem in honour of Felix' completion of the cathedral at Nantes (Poem 3.6), was probably declaimed at a feast in honour of the occasion (67).

These poems to Lupus and to Gregory were both occasioned by particular circumstances. In neither case did the event pre-set the form and content of the poem and the result is that the poems are informative, directly and indirectly, about Fortunatus and his patrons. Though the poem to Lupus displays a depth of feeling and delicacy of expression, there is a degree of formality. It is clear that Fortunatus considers Lupus as his patron, a great man to be praised respectfully. Their relationship is not taken for granted; elaborate thanks are given for it. Lupus has an appreciation of Latin literature and of Fortunatus as a Latin poet but there is a certain distance between poet and patron, though this may only be due to the fact that they are not in frequent contact.

With Gregory, Fortunatus has a closer relationship. The formal prose introduction is deflated by the affectionate and gently teasing verse epilogue. There is no sense of cultural or social distance. Fortunatus offers his praises, as Gregory requests them, as a substantial contribution to Avitus' triumph. In spite of the conventional modest topoi, Fortunatus identifies with Gregory and Avitus as an equal in his enthusiasm for what has happened, and plays an active part insofar as his work is relevant.

The two poems date, in all probability, from the same period. The difference between the attitudes and relationships reflected in them is not, then, one of Fortunatus' development and gradual acceptance in Gaul. It must lie in the difference in the relationships with Lupus and Gregory. At the centre of both, however, is the view of Fortunatus as the representative of Romanitas in literary matters, the Latin poet carrying on the Latin tradition. As patrons, requesting or receiving such poetry, the bishop and the duke themselves continue the tradition.

3. Poem 6.8, De Coco qui ipsi navem tulit

Two poems about Fortunatus' travels in Austrasia also offer an insight into the poet's role and status. The one, Poem 6.8, De Coco qui ipsi navem tulit, dates from the poet's first introduction to the court at Metz. The second, Poem 10.9, De navigio suo, is a much later poem probably dating from 588, when Fortunatus travelled with Gregory to Austrasia after the Treaty of Andelot and for a second time visited a

court of Brunhild at Metz, though now with Childebert II as its focus instead of Sigibert.

The first poem, Poem 6.8, is a light-hearted, rueful account of a disastrous journey. Lines 1 to 6 introduce Fortunatus as a truly ill-fated traveller, though explicitly in the *heroic* fashion of Apollonius' hero with an additional dash of Statius' Thebaid (68). With mock-rhetoric the poet abuses the cook who stole his boat and crew and complains that a cooking pot carried more authority than a codex when it came to getting transport (lines 7-20) (69). Vilicus, Bishop of Metz, had then taken pity on him and found him a skiff (70). In self-mockery Fortunatus sketches his own panic at finding himself in a so slight a craft (lines 21-24). The disaster strikes, the boat capsizes and Fortunatus finds himself alone in the sinking vessel (lines 25-32). Again he pokes fun at his own predicament, picturing himself Canute-like telling the waves to stop washing his feet (lines 31-32). He tells his troubles to Sigibert at Nauriacum who laughs and orders him another boat. There are none, however. Finally, with the help of Count Papulus, who wines and dines him to pass the time, Fortunatus is sent on his way (lines 33-50). This skit on his tribulations has as its focus, both in the title and in the target of the full force of the mock-rhetorical attack in the first half of the poem, the fact that a cook could outrank a poet. The catalogue of friends in high places in the second half re-establishes his status: Vilicus was the first to help him, the king was sympathetic, Gogo reckoned him amongst *sui* (line 38), and Papulus went to a lot of trouble to look after him. There is wry and self-deprecating humour throughout. Having set himself up as an epic fate-doomed hero, he

hurls mock-rhetorical abuse at the presumptuous cook. Once his indignation is vented, he makes a joke of the rest of his misadventures. The sinking of the skiff is a comic episode and there is irony in the fact that, for all the presence of the king's fleet, not a single boat can be found for Fortunatus. The king, Gogo and Papulus are all looking for transport for him. Papulus surveys the strand in epic fashion (line 41) but *the only available boat will not even hold the poet's rucksack* (line 42). Even Papulus' solution to the problem - food and wine (probably more to the poet's taste anyhow than another cold, wet journey) - falls flat since the local supplies are so meagre. (Fortunatus carefully takes the sting out of this criticism in line 46). The poem ends in light-hearted thanks to Papulus for eventually sending the poet on his way.

It would be easy to read too much into this slight poem. But it does convey the impression that Fortunatus is a newcomer finding his feet, asserting his dignity with tact but with some point. Though he is treated with kindness when he brings himself to the attention of these powerful friends, he appears to be in a position where he is not well-established and treated automatically with respect as a valued member of the court. He has to ask for help. The catalogue of notables is slightly defensive. He uses a light touch to thank everyone who helped him, but behind the humour and the mock-rhetoric is an impression that he is vulnerable and so is making the point of his own worth, of his superiority to the menial attendants of the court. The poem's humour gives an acceptable veneer to a serious protestation, whilst the style of the poem itself makes his point. A Latin poet - the phrase patriis exul ... ab oris surely stresses his origin as

much as his distance from it - who can produce such urbane and amusing verse, embellished with appropriate epic and rhetorical flourishes, must find serious recognition at Sigibert's court.

4. Poem 10.9, De navigio suo

In the second and later poem, Poem 10.9, Fortunatus is an official member of Brunhild and Childebert II's entourage, summoned by them *to accompany them* during the journey down the Rhine and the Moselle (lines 1-3, 44, 61-62) (71). The first few lines set the scene, conveying a vivid sensation of the speed of the river travel: percurrere (line 3), celerans (line 4), cucurri (line 5), volabat (line 6), celer impetus (line 9), ereptum (line 11) and fugiens (line 12). The poet then comments on the places that they pass on the journey down from Metz beyond the confluence of the Saar and the Moselle (line 20), past Trier (line 21) and beyond the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle (lines 47-48, 63). Features of interest - the villas (lines 17-18), vineyards (lines 29-42), well-tilled countryside (lines 65-68), and fishing (lines 69-74) - are noted apparently in sequence as they come into sight. A recurring feature is the imposing strength of the palaces and strongholds they pass: ubi Mettica moenia pollent (line 1), ... Treverum ... moenia celsa ... (line 21), culmina prisca (line 23), Antonnacensis castelli ... ad arces (line 63), ... in sedibus aulae (line 69). This motif culminates in the final scene of the poem, a grand reception in the royal banqueting hall.

To emphasise further this impression of towering strength and imposing bastions, the angle at which Fortunatus views both the fortresses and the scenery in general constantly suggests that the travellers are craning their necks upwards at the river banks:

undique prospicimus minitantes vertice montes ...

(line 25)

(on all sides we behold the mountains with their threatening peaks ...)

This impression continues: inter horrentia saxa (line 35), aspera ... saxa (line 37), ... sicca metalla (line 40), rupibus adpensis (line 42). This rugged landscape, appearing even more threatening from this angle, is, however, tamed and cultivated for the king and his party (lines 29-44). The description is drawn subtly and indirectly into a compliment on the king's power, which requires the subservience of even Nature herself to his needs:

omne per illud iter servabant piscibus undae
regibus, et dominis copia fervet aquis.

(lines 49-50)

(Throughout the entire journey the waters offered the royal couple fish; the river swarmed with fish for their lords.)

Then in the centre of the poem the journey is suspended and Fortunatus speaks of his own part in the royal progress, his song echoing from the surrounding rocks and finding a response along the river banks

(lines 51-60). Poetry and song are necessary to complete the pleasures of such an occasion, as the king realises:

quo recreet populum hoc exquirat gratia regum,
invenit et semper quo sua cura iuvet.

(lines 61-62)

(the king's grace requires this for the refreshment of the people: he discovers always the way by which his concern can help them).

The journey is then resumed (lines 63 following) with a picture similar to that of the earlier section, of lands yielding their fruits to the king in his splendour for his great banquet, attended by people from far and near. The final lines address the king and queen, wishing blessings on them and their people. The use of the present tense in the description of the banquet and the direct apostrophe of the royal couple suggest that this poem was itself declaimed at the banquet, in celebration of the journey just completed.

Earlier itineraria, such as those by Horace, Sidonius, Ennodius and Paulinus of Pella (72), follow no fixed pattern and have no set theme. As in the case of the three previous poems, there are therefore no echoes of a literary tradition which preordains content or form. The structure, the emphasis and choice of detail can, however, be highlighted by a comparison with two further itineraria, that of Rutilius Namatianus and the *Mosella* of Ausonius.

Rutilius gives a lengthy and diary-like account of his journey from Rome in De Reditu Suo, listing in detail the places he visits and

sights of interest. In addition to these full reports there are, throughout, visual details which give a vivid impression of scenes which caught Rutilius' eye and imagination: the little boat tacking along the shore in the shining half-light of dawn (lines 277-278) or the mountains of Corsica coming into sight in the early morning light (lines 429-434). These vivid sketches suggest an eye for the pure interest and aesthetic qualities of a scene as such, to be reported as effectively as possible and not noted for any other purpose.

There are direct, vivid images in Fortunatus' poem: the feeling of being rushed along by the river in the first few lines, the picture of the peasants *hanging* to pick the grapes (lines 41-42). But they are there not merely as reports of interesting sights, but to further the purpose of the whole poem - a tribute to Childebert and a declaration of Fortunatus' own contribution to the splendours of the king's court. The length of the journey, the speed and ease of travel through lands in the king's power are all tributes to Childebert, emphasised by the rich and dramatic aspect of the country which is nevertheless tamed to produce its best for him. The splendour of this power is reflected in the classical atmosphere created by the style of expression, with its overtones of a great empire served in its time by its court poets. As in the poem to Lupus, there are few direct echoes or paraphrases, the picture being created by the general vocabulary. The exception is the intensification of verbal echoes at the dramatic height of the description of the crags. Line 32 - et vaga pampineas ventilat aura comas - recalls Ovid's cum populeas ventilat aura comas (73). And again three lines later:

culta nitent inter horrentia saxa colonis

(line 35)

reflects Ovid's et / silvis horrentia saxa (74)

Other features of the landscape - the villas, the fishermen, the vineyards, and so on - are those which also are highlighted in Ausonius' *Mosella*. The common subject might have suggested a precedent to Fortunatus in dealing with this topic. Navarra has explored the similarities between the two poems, and his analysis of the wording and handling of the topics shows that Fortunatus clearly had Ausonius' work in mind in writing this poem (75). But the differences in approach are illuminating.

The political context of Ausonius' poem is Valentinian I's defeat of the Germans, a defeat widely celebrated in the coinage of that date and leading to a restoration of the frontier and a certain extension of peaceful villa settlements in the area of the Rhine and the Moselle (76). The poem is an eulogy of the river and the lands it flows through, starting dramatically with a journey cross-country from Bingen to Neumagen-Dhron through areas recalling the constant defeat of northern invaders by Rome over the centuries (lines 1-11). When Ausonius emerges to Neumagen to see the lush, peaceful Moselle spread below him (lines 12-22), his praise of the river is marshalled by topic and not by geographical sequence (77). The only sense of movement after he reaches the Moselle is the transition to speak of the Rhine (lines 283-284). But even there the immediate comparison with other European rivers reinforces the impression that the survey is made mentally rather than physically.

Within each of these descriptive passages on the different features, the impression conveyed is lush and fulsome. There are long detailed descriptions of the weeds trailing in the water (lines 55 and following), for example, and of the fish (lines 240-282).

This celebration of the rich, peaceful countryside and the fine river may indirectly celebrate Valentinian's achievement in bringing peace to the land. But the direct focus is entirely on the river itself, and the comments, like those on Ausonius' own estate (78), seem to reveal the land-owner's appreciative eye. The poem is a composite of his general familiarity with the river. The journey is not presented except in the loosest way as a single or specific occasion. Fortunatus' journey, by contrast, arises from a royal command on a specific occasion and is a report in chronological and geographical sequence. The first word - regibus - focuses the poem instantly, as does aestifer in the poem to Lupus.

Ausonius categorises the features of the river and deals with each in leisurely fashion for its intrinsic interest. Fortunatus notes in general the same topics but is more concise: the villas, described so fully in Ausonius, get only two lines in Fortunatus. The latter's description looks beyond the actual features of the river to the power and position of the king which they reflect. For this reason a lingering treatment of vineyards or fish stock is not relevant. The ease of the journey, the expanse of country under cultivation, the rugged terrain which yet yields its riches, the fish served for the king's pleasure are a tribute to Childbert's power. The strongholds - the moenia celsa and culmina prisca - which are so noticeable in Fortunatus' landscape, are absent from Ausonius where people live in

unfortified villas. But here they emphasise the king's hold on the land in terms which recall past glories and offer them as tribute to Childebert as successor to the Romans, as Ausonius perhaps very much less directly had offered memories of the German forests to Valentinian. Even the upward angle from which they are viewed emphasises their impressive strength, in contrast to the more level, panoramic viewpoint of Ausonius, and offers it in tribute to the king.

But beyond this there is a direct personal point to Fortunatus' poem which is missing from Ausonius'. All the riches and pleasures which the king can command, he declares, are incomplete without the pleasure of poetry. His presence at Childebert's court crowns the king's splendour and power, linking the Merovingian court with the Roman empire and its court poets, a link made as much by the language of the poem as by its probable declamation as part of the public progress of the king. The king, exercising power in due and legitimate form, is celebrated by his court poet, a Latin poet, whose song is echoed by the woods and hills in time-honoured literary fashion, as the king's authority is witnessed by those surviving traces of Roman rule and even recognised, equally traditionally, by the tribute of Nature.

The statement made in the earlier poem of the poet's role and value is comparatively indirect and tentative. In the later poem, he is part of the royal party by explicit invitation, as he does not hesitate to explain. This poem and others, in all likelihood, are part of the entertainments and celebrations en route, an integral part of the demonstration of the king's power and culture. The picture Fortunatus gives of himself is not hesitant or diffident. The woods and trees

respond to the power of his song, in conventional literary fashion, just as Nature serves the king with her abundance. He is a powerful and significant figure, recognised as such by the king. His muse no longer stumbles along, frozen cold and beer-sodden, travelling alone through bleak and hostile lands, as she did in the Preface to Gregory (Pref. 4). Nor does he rely on improvised transport to limp along in the king's wake as he first did. The king's reign is in true succession to Roman rule and a Latin poet is recognised and honoured as such, and given his due place.

Fortunatus approached Sigibert with caution. Twenty years later he spoke to the young Childebert and his mother with self-possession and authority.

Conclusion

So the Romanitas which both Gallo-Romans and Franks feel a need for and find in Fortunatus is a composite of what he writes and what he is. He continues literary traditions, evoking the familiar (or would-be familiar) past, but speaking to the present with a living voice which develops and adapts thought and expression sensitively to these new circumstances. That he writes, that he is seen and heard as a poet, is as important as what he writes. The existence of a poem for an occasion and the fact that a Latin writer has written it are as important as what the poem actually says. The poem to Lupus, written on a more personal and private level, is more concerned with the relationship between poet and patron, but just in writing the poem

Fortunatus is complimenting Lupus on his learning and sophistication. As a public figure, part of the celebration of important events, Fortunatus' early diffidence (79) developed to the position of acceptance and assurance where his contribution of praise was requested by secular and ecclesiastical authorities alike.

CHAPTER THREE

FORTUNATUS AND THE PANEGYRIC TRADITION: POEMS TO RULERS

The four poems considered in the previous chapter offer insights into Fortunatus' work largely because they do not fall with a particular genre and therefore have no pre-set content or structure. What can be derived from them as a consequence is a general picture of Fortunatus' significance to Gallo-Romans and to Franks because he is a Latin poet, as well as because of what he writes on specific occasions. In this chapter and the next two I would like to consider the way in which the poet uses particular genres to play his part in Merovingian society, his development of these genres to adapt to the circumstances he finds himself in, and the image they reflect of various groups and their aspirations.

Fortunatus wrote many poems of praise throughout his life, poems of varying length, complexity and formality. Though a great number of these use traditional rhetorical motifs of praise and echo familiar Roman virtues as a tribute to Merovingian patrons, they are of no set structure and offer only a general atmosphere of Romanitas. There are, however, several poems which are more formally constructed and which give evidence of the strong influence of panegyric both in the poetic techniques employed (the nature and order of topics, the use of exempla and so on) and in the overall purpose and function of the poems. Panegyric is a genre with a strong and well-defined tradition.

Thus, analysis of these poems provides a more controlled situation in which to judge Fortunatus' departure from established traditions and the extent and nature of his adaptation of a genre to local circumstances.

There is, however, a difficulty in forming a literary assessment of this genre. Panegyric as a literary genre and the poet as panegyrist are subjects which, for the modern reader, give rise to feelings of unease, if not of aversion. Poetry written to order, and particularly to the order of a political master for a public occasion, carries an aura of propaganda, of the debasement of the highest art for the lowest ends. A poet laureate, the nearest our age offers to a panegyrist, may by choice or circumstances avoid ever writing a poem on a public and official occasion, as Southey did. His view of life, as expressed in his works generally, may be such as to accord with an official celebration of a public event, as in the case of Betjeman, and so protect him from the suspicion of time-serving. Yet when a new poet laureate is to be chosen or the post is discussed, the point is almost invariably made by some that a poet cannot by definition be the voice of the Establishment. A post-Romantic poet, to put the point simplistically, writes by inspiration. His inspiration is Truth, Beauty, or some such; and by no stretch of the imagination do the public rituals of a staid and settled monarchy qualify under that description. A poet, moreover, writes as and when inspiration comes, not to the orders of the Civil Service.

A reservation about the genre can be found as far back as Augustine in Milan in 385, though based then on different grounds. His encounter with a blissfully drunken beggar who appeared to have attained

laetitia temporalis felicitatis by so simple a means, struck Augustine as pointing the hypocrisy of trying to attain that end by the complex political and wordly machinations he was about to further by delivering a prose panegyric (1). But his reaction was far from typical of his times, when public speaking was part and parcel of everyday life in in a Greek or Roman city and indeed was a career for many men. Yet a shadow of his feelings about the immorality of worldly compromise perhaps also lies behind our attitude. The poet as political satirist is acceptable, but not the poet as political panegyrist: Juvenal and Dryden, but not Fortunatus or Betjeman.

Of political necessity we view the role of poet to some extent through the preconceptions of nineteenth century Romanticism. Our distrust of the poet laureate, even though he is far freer to write as and when he wishes than a classical panegyrist, shows how difficult it is to rid ourselves of anachronistic presuppositions in looking further back and to examine the work of a poet of the sixth century without prejudice. Koebner, for example, attacks Fortunatus strongly for his existence as Gelegenheitsdichter (2). For Koebner the more subtle and persuasive Fortunatus' writing is, the more the basic psychological paradox of the poet is displayed. For here is a a poet whose work can show a range of delicate emotional nuances - a love poem, an evocative vignette of idyllic country. Yet all these poems are written for an "occasion" and thus derive inspiration from the social or literary needs of a patron, not from any internal poetic drive within the poet himself. However articulate and skilful Fortunatus may be, he can never therefore in essence be more than a subservient echo of his masters. The panegyric to Chilperic is taken

as an extreme example of this (3). Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus' friend and patron, had been placed in great danger through the machinations of Chilperic's friends and enemies. Yet, Koebner protests, Fortunatus not only praises Chilperic in the most outrageous and servile fashion but makes no mention whatsoever of Gregory, seemingly abandoning him as soon as his friendship became inconvenient.

Such moral and literary judgements, imputing anachronistically the original sin of insincerity to the genre as such, must be distinguished as carefully as possible. Fortunatus, together with earlier panegyrists, must be considered in terms of his own world.

Panegyric was a genre which evolved slowly from its Greek origins within a complex political, artistic and social context. Its function, the formal praise of a dignitary on a public occasion, was inextricably interwoven with the other institutions and customs of civic and court life, and with the other expressions of attitudes and feelings evinced on such occasions. It was one part of an occasion which also included processions, decorations, tableaux, banners, other speeches, and so on. As such, it reflected and commented on these other social customs and often mirrored verbally the visual motifs of other media (4). Since the occasion was often of political significance, what was said in a panegyric frequently had complex implications which can only be glimpsed by careful examination of the prose or verse in their historical and social context. As with all highly formalised art forms, it is the minute variation, the emphasis scarcely apparent to readers used to a more open convention, which often had significance for the original audience.

It is important, therefore, to see Fortunatus' work in the context of the nature and development of the genre and in the historical context of the Merovingian court. Analysis of these more formal poems may then reveal the nature of the poet's use of the genre. Bezzola assessed Fortunatus as the fruitful link between the ancient and medieval worlds, playing the same role at Chilperic's court that Claudian did at Honorius' (5). But it may be argued that, if examination of the social and cultural background suggests that the conditions were not present for panegyric to carry out its functions, whatever the literary echoes and overtones of Fortunatus' writing, he cannot be playing the part of panegyrist in any proper sense. Panegyric is a functional art. In the absence of other pieces of the cultural jigsaw into which panegyric locks, Fortunatus is an alien and rootless import, evoking nostalgic memories for the Gallo-Romans and providing a meaningless veneer of civilisation for the Franks. Clovis imported a citharoedus from Ravenna (6), Gundobad a water clock (7). Perhaps their successors enjoyed the services of a comparable Ravennan import, a token of Roman culture more or less artificially grafted on to a barbarian court to satisfy its pretensions to gracious living.

In this chapter evaluation of Fortunatus' work in this genre will start from a brief review of the nature and development of panegyric up to the sixth century. The recent work of MacCormack (8) has laid a detailed and wide-ranging basis for such a survey. From that background it will then be possible to consider in this chapter the panegyrics to Merovingian kings and the gratiarum actio to Justin II and the Empress Sophia, setting the poems in their historical contexts and analysing their structure and technique. In the next chapter

panegyrics to other people in the Merovingian kingdoms will be discussed in a similar fashion to show the range of Fortunatus' use of this genre.

1. The panegyric tradition

Panegyric is one of the most important literary genres in public and ceremonial life in the classical world. Pliny's panegyric of Trajan and the panegyrics of Cicero, notably the Caesarian speeches and the De lege Manilia, are examples of earlier Latin prose panegyric which were probably never equalled for their literary and linguistic qualities. But it was not until the fourth century panegyrists under the Tetrarchy and the Gallic rhetorical schools that this genre reached its peak in its popularity, its recognised part in cultural life, its wide use as a subtle and influential political tool and the full exploration of its literary potential.

The surviving handbooks on eulogistic oratory were published some time before this. The περί ἐπισκευτικῶν falsely attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was composed in the late second or early third century (9). Two comprehensive treatises were also written on the subject in the late third and early fourth centuries and traditionally ascribed to the orator Menander. These works lay out the same guidelines in general as earlier writings on the subject but are very full and detailed, with many examples to illustrate the points made. They outline for the young orator the format for speeches on particular occasions, such as arrivals, departures, marriages and the

presentation of wreaths.

They set out, for example, the basic scheme for the basilikos logos, the formal public praise of kings, which could be adapted to suit a particular occasion (10). For this some general points are made about the use of comparisons and the clear structuring of the speech to enable the listener to follow it easily. The basic scheme is then sketched out with the topics arranged in their correct order. After an introduction the orator must praise the king's country, his lineage, birth and education with the emphasis relevant to the circumstances. In the main part of the speech the deeds of the subject are then praised under two headings of peace and war (11). The orator is seen as acting as a mediator, speaking on behalf of all the people present (12), though in practice this channel of communication is two-way and the speaker can be seen speaking to all the people on behalf of the ruler, as is often the case in the panegyrics of Claudian. The emphasis in the main body of the speech on the King's personal qualities, on his virtues in the particular circumstances, makes the panegyric a particularly valuable political and social tool in a situation of uncertainty or unfamiliarity.

The speech at an adventus serves furthermore as a detailed introduction of a new ruler to a town (13). The adventus takes place in two stages. In the first, outside the town, the officials and townspeople (often arranged in groups according to class, nationality, and so on) greet the ruler. The gates and walls may be decorated, the crowd bearing palm branches, lights or incense. Then, at the second stage, the ruler enters the city to the acclamation of the crowd, the ceremony culminating in the distribution of largess to the people, an

act symbolic of general benefaction (14). In the panegyric delivered as part of an adventus, the epibaterios, the ruler's qualities and intentions can be properly expounded to the people; and they, in turn are (at least in some instances) identified and enumerated by age and status (15), and their situation and deeds indicated. The panegyric is thus a token of legitimate rule by which a ruler is publicly and explicitly accepted by his people. At the same time the detailed presentation of the ruler and his policies affords scope for the selective presentation of information and the guidance of public opinion and attitudes.

Menander also gives instructions for the lalia, the more informally constructed encomium. This, he observes, is an invaluable tool for the orator, enabling him to fulfill the purpose of both deliberative and epideictic rhetoric in any particular set of circumstances. The prosphonetikos, too, is a vehicle for the praise of a ruler, more specifically that of a governor. The orator is then advised how best to praise a ruler, give advice, express feelings of pleasure or gratitude and so on. Such guidelines enable an orator to react effectively on behalf of himself or his city in circumstances where the absence of formal ceremony leaves him free to speak without conforming to any pre-set sequence of topics (16).

The prose panegyrists of the fourth century had no numerous or great successors. Prose panegyric was revived briefly during the Ostrogothic kingdom. Boethius is recorded as delivering a panegyric in 522 for the consulship of his sons. Cassiodorus, as far as we can tell from the remaining fragments, still used panegyric as a politically vital tool. The panegyric which may be attributed to the accession of

Vitigis and his marriage to Matasuntha, after praising the king's warlike virtues, stops to allow the soldiers to acclaim the king and confirm the oration (17). Cassiodorus is still using the panegyric as a means of communication between ruler and people, though here he integrates the civilian with the military aspect of accession. Ennodius applied the topoi of panegyric to laud the antecedents and upbringing of Theodoric (18). Both writers cast back for a wealth of classical precedents (19). Yet, for all the wealth of rhetorical topoi, Ennodius loses the strict rhetorical structure and slips into narrative instead of maintaining the analysis of virtues. And in practice the hopes voiced in Cassiodorus' panegyric to Vitigis are rapidly blighted by the subsequent downfall of the Ostrogothic state, which in turn destroyed any hope there might have been of a more lengthy continuation of the prose panegyric tradition in Italy.

The development of verse panegyric followed a rather different course. Early encomia to patrons, whether emperors or private persons, were to an extent written to rhetorical precepts but were concerned with private and not with public occasions (20). Claudian transformed this tradition with a series of elaborate, rhetorically structured verse panegyrics designed to fulfill the same public function as the prose panegyrics. The verse panegyric for formal occasions follows the pattern outlined above, drawing on the same resources of Roman history and legend for illustration and comparison. The poet, like the orator, acts as a political commentator and mediator between ruler and people (21). Verse panegyric draws also upon the epic tradition and so expands beyond the basic structure with narrative or descriptive passages that owe much to epic. The style tends to be more fantastic

and elaborate than that of prose panegyric, with the frequent use of personification. Sidonius, for example, often conveys states of affairs, countries or events by this symbolic abstraction (22). Merobaudes makes a plea with a curiously modern ring to it for "a war to end all wars" in the person of Orbis (23). The still-life effect of prose ceremonial tableaux is often broken up in verse by a more narrative approach to imperial achievements (24), the verbal pictures probably echoing the equally dramatic pictorial representations of military successes, paraded through the streets for the people's delight and edification.

The values underlying these panegyrics and the moral virtues attributed to their subjects are by tradition those of the pagan classical world. The imagery often reflects pagan cult beliefs and attitudes. The gradual adaptation of both content and form of expression within a court context where Christianity has become the official state religion is a most complex and lengthy one (25) and one where a detailed account would be beyond the scope of this present brief review. But it is important to note that there is a tradition in the West of Christian panegyric. There are several writers who can be termed Christian by inference or by explicit evidence but who preserve the full panoply of the pagan pantheon in their oratory. Claudian, argued by some to be a Christian (26), is thoroughly pagan in his rhetorical theology. Nazarius, though writing to an emperor who is a Christian, gives no sign of Christian commitment. Sidonius paints a picture of roccocco pagan myth and minor deities. In both Mamertinus and Pacatus there is a lack of Christian reference; Mamertinus instead in the Stoic tradition, enthrones Philosophy at the emperor's side as

his guide and mentor, while Pacatus casts Amicitia in that role.

MacCormack sees here a tension which is full of potential embarrassment for Christians in public life, tension between Christian belief and the world view presupposed by the traditional format of a panegyric (27). One of the chief topics of a panegyric is military prowess, she argues, whereas to Orosius and Augustine, for example, war is not a fit subject for praise. The occasion of delivery of a panegyric itself could also provoke strong Christian reaction, either as an unacceptable assertion of worldly power (28) or, as Augustine experienced it, as a display of alien moral values (29). She observes that Ausonius abandons the traditional format in his gratiarum actio to Gratian to present a more personal tribute (30), while Jerome reacted with a notable lack of enthusiasm to Paulinus of Nola's report of his panegyric to Theodosius (31).

There may well be a clash of values here in some cases which accounts for reservations about the use of panegyric. Augustine, however, was also the man who evolved the theory of the just war waged by a Christian ruler to ensure peace. Jerome's lack of interest may well be attributable to the fact that his concern was with Christian exegesis rather than with political activism. His reaction to Paulinus is polite enough, though brief. Ausonius' speech is the interesting example of transmutation of the traditional rhetorical formula to a personal and Christian thanksgiving. Here, if anywhere, traces of that awkward tension should be found. Though the speech contains rhetorical elements in the self-deprecatory motif (sect. 1), in the comments on the achievements of Gratian in peace and in war (sect. 1 and 2) and in the audience involvement (sect. 13 ff.), Ausonius

addresses the Christian ruler directly with an unconventional informality. But it is far from clear that Ausonius here abandons the rhetorical format because he feels conflict between that and the Christian beliefs of the emperor and himself. Ausonius is grappling with the fact that his qualification for the consulship is to a large extent the fact of his having been Gratian's tutor, a fact that he has no intention of disclaiming or hiding under a bushel. In turn Gratian's qualification as a good emperor, under the rules of rhetoric, is to an extent his learning and general education. Ausonius' adaptation of the formula is surely due to his determination to see that credit is amply given where it is due rather than to any tension between his Christian faith and his rhetorical training. The very freedom for invention to fit the circumstances, which Menander observes as being so useful for an orator, is surely being used here by Ausonius without any observable embarrassment or awkwardness (32).

There are therefore positive examples in the West of the adaptation of the rhetorical panegyric tradition to Christian values. Paulinus describes himself as emphasising Theodosius' virtues of faith and humility to the exclusion of more traditional imperial qualities. Ambrose almost entirely omits the theme of victory and dominion in his Consolatio on Valentinian II, whilst in the Consolatio on Theodosius the emperor's rule is seen in terms of Old Testament kingship and his virtues - fides, miser cordia, humilitas, and amor Dei - are those preached by the church. The consolatio is a separate type of speech, but its structure was formulated in the pre-Christian rhetorical handbooks, and these examples can still be regarded as important examples in the formulation of the image of a Christian ruler (33).

Cassiodorus happily marries the old folk-heroes of the Republic with Christian values in panegyric proper. They exemplify the great virtues but are now surpassed by a ruler who acts in the faith and fear of God (34).

Christian writers therefore used the rhetorical tradition, adapting the topoi and motifs to fit the image of a Christian ruler. The genres also had a marked influence upon the church in several ways. The ceremony of adventus was adopted to provide for the ritual welcome of a bishop or of relics (35). Fortunatus' Vexilla Regis (Poem 2.6) was written for the adventus of the relic of the True Cross into Poitiers in about 569 and uses the military imagery associated with an imperial adventus (36).

Panegyric also had an effect on other genres of Christian writing. Ambrose in his Consolatio on Theodosius depicts Theodosius' triumphal entry into heaven in terms of a ceremonial adventus, the emperor being accompanied by angelorum caterva, sanctorum turba (37). The rhetorical structure of the basilikos logos - the sequence of comment on the subject's birth and family, education, personal qualities, deeds and renown - underlies many hagiographical works. Though Fortunatus himself stressed the need for rusticus et plebeius sermo to reach a wide audience (38), there had always been a general concern for style (39). Rhetorical genres provided a ready model for such compositions. In general also the use of rhetoric in preaching had been a well-established tradition since the fourth century (40) and rhetorical rules were still being observed at the end of the fifth century (41).

There exists then within the Western tradition which Fortunatus

would have known, not only the traditional rhetorical genres with their secular or pagan values but also a tradition of Christian panegyric writing, thoroughly committed to the image of the Christian ruler. This tradition adapted for the purpose of ecclesiastical ceremony both the rhetorical structures and the ceremonial aspects of panegyric.

Panegyric is, throughout all these developments, a feature of public ceremonial which actively involves not only the speaker but also the subject and the audience. It presupposes a certain level of social stability and education to produce the orators and the schools of rhetoric and also the ordered citizenry who will respond to and participate in, for example, an *adventus*. Panegyric is essentially a functional art and the schools of rhetoric were in their heyday at a time when there was ample opportunity for the orators to practise their skills. The travels of a new emperor in the period of the Tetrarchy to stabilise his power gave the raison d'être for this skill. Within a wider context panegyric also required a rich and cultured milieu for its continued existence. At any ceremony the imagery of rhetoric would reflect, interweave with, and overlap the visual images of architecture - of a town gate or a royal entrance -, of mosaics and frescoes depicting royal personages, of banners narrating military victories, of the motifs of jewellery, fabrics and tapestries. All these combined together to present a complex and sophisticated image of power (42). In an ecclesiastical context the same art forms interweave to produce a similarly complex impact on their audience, panegyric having its part to play in the same way.

Panegyric, then, from its early stages to the peak of prose

orations in the Gallic schools and the verse addresses of Claudian and others, is an important mechanism in the functioning of public life. It is the medium whereby the ruler and the ruled, in those roles, communicate publicly. MacCormack likens a panegyric to a theatrical performance: the actors must play their parts well but the audience too, with their understanding of the conventions and expectations of the theatre, are needed to complete the occasion. The parallel holds for the use of theatrical costume, stage settings and scenery which, like the architectural and ceremonial settings to panegyric, embroider, amplify and echo the words spoken on the stage. In this tradition a successful panegyric is the product of complex factors: a level of education which produces the orators and the appreciative audience, a political and social order where ruler and ruled can communicate - and need to communicate - in this way, and an artistic context which produces or reinforces the verbal imagery. Should any of these factors change or be absent, the panegyric tradition necessarily alters or even disappears. A change in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, for example, changes the function of communication between them. The period of the Tetrarchy, for instance, was a period when rulers were relatively mobile and accessible. There were therefore regular opportunities for such speeches. An emperor visiting a city could be known as an individual by those people and a speech commending him for his particular qualities was very relevant.

Two contrasting speeches illustrate this point. The first is a gratiarum actio addressed to Constantine when he arrived at the city of Autun in 311 and granted the city a remission of tax (43). The orator describes the two-fold ceremony of welcome outside and within

the city walls, the terminology of epiphany, light and salvation presumably echoing the imagery of the statues and banners the people had brought into the streets to welcome Constantine (44). The activity within the adventus ceremony lies against a background in which an emperor is seen as being constantly on the move and perhaps processing hundreds of miles before coming to a certain city (45). By contrast, the sixth century Byzantine address of Corippus to Justin II which describes the public adventus of the emperor within Byzantium, presents a very different view of the ruler and his relation to his people (46). Though some of the features of a fourth century adventus are there - the assembly of the people, their eagerness to see the emperor, the acclamations - the scope and mobility of the ceremony have been restricted and formalised. There is no direct contact between people and emperor since they now meet in the formal setting of the hippodrome. The imperial procession moves only between points within the city so that the distinction between the first and second stages of the adventus is lost. The empire-wide adventus of the Tetrarchs - Julian's city-by-city adventus at his accession and Constantine's similar progress - is now transformed into Justin's single appearance in the hippodrome of the royal city (47). The Byzantine panegyrics have therefore no interest in the individual personality of the emperor. Their focus is upon the role he plays and the ceremonial accompanying this role. The impact of an individual on the course of history and the analysis of imperial actions and policies were two of the major themes of panegyric. In the East at least these ideas had lost their interest and relevance by the sixth century. The process of interpretation and definition of persons and

roles which was the function of the fourth century panegyric had atrophied. Ceremonial as such was the focus of attention: the topoi of panegyric narrow to the features of ceremonial occasions and Corippus' emphasis is on the description of power rather than on the interpretation of policy.

Another contrast can be made between the address to Constantine and that of Sidonius on the arrival of Marjorian in Lyons in 458 (48). Lyons was about to welcome Marjorian as successor to Avitus and hoped to sue successfully for the removal of the occupying garrison and the remission of taxes. In his panegyric Sidonius does not use any of the traditional adventus topics or refer to any adventus ceremony. Indeed, the strong emphasis on law and order suggests strongly a spokesman struggling hard to talk his way through the prevailing chaos which could prevent such a ceremony taking place. Similarly the panegyric on Avitus' accession in Rome in 456 (49) had omitted any element of an adventus which might naturally have been expected in the circumstances and lapsed instead into epic and mythological narrative. The implication is that panegyric cannot function in its traditional format without a traditionally ordered citizenry. But it is also true that verse and prose declamations, properly termed "panegyric", cover a wide range of variations on the basic formulae, in response to widely differing political circumstances.

At its peak, then, panegyric is an active element in the political balance between emperor and people. The orator or poet mediates to interpret and define roles and policies. This act of interpretation presupposes the view of the ruler as an individual, whose qualities are important for the well being of his people, and a view of the

people as being in some form of direct contact with their king and so able to judge and give consent to his rule. If the court becomes static, formalised and remote from the people, as it does in the East, the raison d'être of panegyric, its form and its content change. Its subject becomes ceremony rather than policy revealed through ceremonial contact between emperor and people. If political order and stability collapse, as they do at times in the West, public ceremonial is abbreviated or impracticable and panegyric tends to become a literary exercise within the court circle, if it survives at all, rather than a public activity involving the whole people.

2. The context of panegyric in Merovingian Gaul

There are, then, four critical factors for the proper functioning of panegyric: a well educated poet or orator; a reasonably educated and responsive audience; sufficiently stable conditions to allow ceremonial and political contact between ruler and people; and the visual imagery of an artistic context with which panegyric traditionally interacts.

The first two points have been covered in Chapter One. By virtue of his early education and experience in Ravenna, Fortunatus' rhetorical training may be assumed to have included the practice of panegyric. The decisive evidence lies in the poems themselves but there is no reason why Fortunatus' education in this field may not be assumed. Within the context of the poet's early education, the absence of a court in Ravenna would suggest an absence of court ceremonial. The

secular court had, however, been replaced by the splendid ecclesiastical establishment of Maximian, archbishop for ten years (546-556) and creator of a Golden Age of building as ambitious as those of Gallia Placidia and of Theodoric. This milieu could in all probability provide Fortunatus not only with the literary training of the rhetorical traditions but also with the example of contemporary ecclesiastical practice in ceremonial, and in the application of rhetorical precepts to the composition of sermons and hagiography. The lavish architectural setting with its rich frescoes, mosaics and tapestries would provide the necessary visual complement for such exercises.

Among contemporary writers, the Latin poet Corippus wrote a poem in four books of hexameters on Justin II's accession and entry to his first consulship on January 1st, 566, the poem In laudem Justinii minoris. As Cameron notes, the poem combines Roman imperial themes with the Byzantine concept of the Christian ruler (50). The poem presents a new and individual development of the genre of panegyric. The meticulously detailed structure is absent, the rhetoric of literature being replaced by that of visual art. Corippus gives a detailed description of real ceremonies, closely connected with the visual presentations in other art forms, and fully exploits artistic, religious and political symbolism. Fortunatus' two early encomia, the one to Sigibert and Brunhild (Poem 6.1a) and the other to Charibert (Poem 6.2), were delivered in 566 and 567 and it is unlikely on chronological grounds that any question of Corippus' influence on these arises. The embassy to Byzantium to negotiate the gift of the relic of the True Cross from Justin and Sophia in 568/9, however,

would be an obvious opportunity for a copy of Corippus' work to have come into Fortunatus' hands. This possible Byzantine influence will be discussed in relation to the later panegyrical writings.

On the basis of the evidence of the general level of education in Gaul, there also seems to have been no lack of literate Gallo-Romans and Franks in court and ecclesiastical circles to form an intelligent and appreciative audience for such writings and declamations. Their literary competence may not, however, be that of Gallo-Romans of Sidonius' generation (51) and the court of Sigibert may differ from those of Honorius or Marjorian in the intricacy and subtlety of the structure and mechanisms of power, of which panegyric is a tool. These factors may set a limit on Fortunatus' writing in this genre which is difficult to quantify but may be observable in analysis of the poems.

The third question, the degree to which there existed any ceremonial in which panegyric proper could play a part, has already been partly answered in the previous discussion of the development of panegyric. The question here, more precisely, is whether any of Fortunatus' panegyrics could have been used in church ceremonies and whether there were any secular occasions on which the secular encomia and panegyrics the poet wrote might have been declaimed. If not, the lack of any such formal events would render the poems literary exercises, read only to a small circle of friends and patrons and so necessarily devoid of the practical raison d'être of a panegyric with the consequent effect of that on the style and content of the poems.

Evidence on this point is virtually non-existent. The account given by Gregory of Tours of the entry of Guntram into Orleans on 4th July, 585, suggests a two-stage adventus (52). Guntram is welcomed outside

the city, escorted within and greeted with acclaim by various groups of citizens. Gregory's account is based on his personal observation of this event (surreximus at the end of the chapter). No indication is given whether or not this was a piece of reasonably familiar ceremonial. The amount of detail given, which enables us to identify this adventus, seems due to Gregory's admiration for the king's handling of the situation, an example of his perspicacity and political nous. Lack of other instances may not therefore imply that such ceremonial did not take place occasionally or even regularly. There is no Byzantine pre-occupation with ceremony and so presumably no interest in recording it for its own sake. But there seems no reason to suppose that such formal poems, as well as those, for example, for the completion of the cathedral at Nantes (Poem 3.6), were not declaimed publicly and did not have their part in whatever ceremonial took place, as Meyer argues (53).

On the fourth point, the quality of the artistic milieu, it is apparent from what has already been said on this subject that this period was one of ambitious building projects and of rich decoration and furnishings. This is especially obvious in the ecclesiastical sphere, where donors and builders are concerned to have their generosity recorded. And in any case, for a Christian poet who is often writing for ecclesiastical patrons, it was probably this area of imagery which was most influential.

It seems possible, therefore, within this context that Fortunatus could have continued the tradition of panegyric in Merovingian Gaul, just as his contemporary, Corippus, did in Byzantium. Analysis of the relevant poems and consideration of the poems within their historical

context will show whether, and to what extent, this was the case.

3. Poems in praise of Merovingian kings

There are three groups of people to whom Fortunatus' more formal laudatory poems are addressed: rulers, bishops, and other notables. Discussion of the poems in these categories is convenient because it makes more apparent any common motifs or methods of presentation connected with rank or occasion.

There are four major poems of praise addressed to Merovingian kings. These are, in chronological order, the poems to Sigibert and Brunhild (Poem 6.1a), to Charibert (Poem 6.2), to Chilperic (Poem 9.1), and to Childebert II and Brunhild (Poem 10.8). There is also the gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia (Appendix 2), which is a work in the rhetorical tradition of encomia to rulers and will be discussed in section 4.

The first of these poems, De Sigibercto rege et Brunichilde regina, is a comparatively short poem of 42 lines. It is probably to be dated to shortly after the marriage of the royal couple. The poem in part celebrates Brunhild's conversion from Arianism, an event noted by Gregory as taking place soon after the wedding (54). Since the queen's conversion is presented as a cause for congratulation, the implication is that it is recent. Nunc placet ecce deo ... (line 40), a phrase referring emphatically to the present, appears to embrace both Brunhild's favourable reception by the king and her more recent emergence as a properly Catholic queen. The poem is therefore to be dated to 566/7 and it is

likely that, like so many other laudatory poems for public events, it was declaimed at some celebratory occasion (55), though the wording here does not compel that interpretation.

Fortunatus hails Sigibert and Brunhild with many of the conventions of the basilikos logos. The poem starts with an arresting apostrophe of Sigibert as victor, a direct reflection of what constituted the king's fitness to rule in the eyes of his Germanic subjects, his prowess in battle. This emphasis on the king's military success might refer to some immediately past event involving the Saxons and Thuringians (line 11), but we have no information from any other source to help identify the occasion. Sigibert issued victory coins of a design deriving, through those of Theodebert, from the coins of Valentinian I and Gratian, which have on them the winged Victory figure Fortunatus refers to in this poem (lines 9-10) (56). There is no obvious occasion to which Sigibert's coins can be related, as Theodebert's coins can (57). The role of successful military leader, however, was essential to the general success and stability of a Frankish king's reign (58). Moreover, the coins come from the mint at Trier, close to Sigibert in Metz at the time of his marriage.

Fortunatus then follows the classical conventions of the basilikos logos in both its prose and verse forms and gives expression to the consensus which demonstrates the legitimacy of the king's rule in the eyes of his subjects. This consensus is not only omnium, it is universorum (lines 1-2), the cosmic level where all things from East to West acknowledge the rule of the king (59). The phrase ab occasu quem laus extendit in ortum (whose fame carries him from the setting to the rising of the sun) also evokes the sun imagery so often

connected with the ceremonial presentation of rulers, at least as far back as Menander (60), imagery which is found frequently in the prose panegyrists (61) and also, for example, in the verse of Sidonius (62). Fortunatus has eschewed the full structure of the basilikos logos, omitting the introductory sections on the ruler's country, family and nature. The structure of this poem seems to follow more closely the prescription for the prosphonetikos to a governor, a speech which concentrates more closely on the subject's virtues as a ruler in war and in peace (63). The poet states that Sigibert's virtues in war and in peace make him a worthy king (lines 3-28). He starts with a conventional modesty topos in lines 3-6, where he simultaneously deprecates his own worth and suggests that the king's exploits are of heroic stature in the classical tradition (64). The reference to the winged victory in line 9, whose derivation has been discussed above, then recalls Christian and Roman imperial imagery, reinforcing the implications of the literary context and imperial rhetoric. The martial exploits alluded to in lines 11-14 may be unidentifiable contemporary events, as has been suggested, or they may be, as Meyer suggests (65), refer to fighting under Lothar's leadership in 555. Fortunatus then expresses the wish that, as victory has now brought peace, the king should be the more peace-loving the more victorious he becomes (lines 15-18). The legitimate nature of Sigibert's rule in the Roman pattern is emphasised by the form of address, rex, in line 35 and the suggestion of the obeisance of reges in line 14,

A catalogue of peaceable virtues is then attributed to the king, culminating in his pia cura for his people (lines 19-26). Developing this idea, Fortunatus then describes Sigibert as the salus of his

people:

omnibus una salus datus es, quibus ordine sacro
tempore praesenti gaudia prisca refers.

(lines 27-28)

(You are granted as the one salvation for all; to all at this
time through your blessed office you restore former joys).

The salus of Sigibert, so far a purely secular and military matter, now gathers in conjunction with ordine sacro a religious dimension which the reference to gaudia prisca intensifies with its overtones of a golden age, a pre-Fall paradise. The three strands of Merovingian kingship are thus now present: the Germanic ideal, the legitimate Roman rule, and the Christian role of saviour and defender of the people.

The Christian aspect of Sigibert's kingship and one of the causes of the present eulogy, is then celebrated further by Fortunatus' congratulations on the conversion of the queen. Menander makes mention of a queen or empress an optional topos if appropriate and if the honour of the queen demands it (66). The option is rarely taken up. Claudian eulogises Serena in the Laus Serenae and Julian offers a full-scale Greek panegyric of Eusebia (67). In the sixth century the powerful figure of Sophia (68) is recognised both by Corippus (69) and by Fortunatus in his poem of thanks for the relic of the True Cross (70). Here the recognition of Brunhild as Sigibert's honoured Christian consort is complementary to the image of the king as a Christian ruler, established with due authority and consent. The poem

reflects the dignity of Sigibert's dynastic ambitions and the importance of Brunhild to his kingdom as a token of the strength added by marital alliance with the Visigoths.

The full panoply of the basilikos logos is not present in this poem. In the relatively short space of 42 lines, however, Fortunatus deploys in concentrated fashion many of the traditional rhetorical motifs of panegyric, deriving the structure perhaps from Menander's prosphonetikos. The qualities attributed, the sequence of topics, the epic parallels accord a classical Roman dignity to this image of a king and queen which skilfully interweaves the central Germanic, Roman and Christian aspects of Merovingian kingship. Fortunatus responds sensitively, especially for one so recently arrived at court, to the king's ambitions and to the political realities implicit in the marriage and conversion of Brunhild. The poem sets the seal of imperial rhetoric and all that that implies on Sigibert's reign. As in the case of the poems considered in the previous chapter, it is not only what is said that is important. The allusions, the atmosphere invoked, the very implications of the use of a genre offer a tribute by the suggestion of a shared culture. In this way Fortunatus here associates Sigibert and Brunhild with the imperial courts of Rome and Byzantium.

It is also possible to see Fortunatus' projection of this image of kingship here as being influenced by a strong Gallic ecclesiastical tradition, embodied in that generation in particular by Nicetius of Trier, with whom the poet had earlier contact, and by Gregory of Tours. As Collins observes, Nicetius was an energetic and reforming bishop whose vision went beyond the revival of the church. A feature

of Gallic preaching in the fifth and sixth centuries - in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles and Faustus of Riez, for example - was the use of the "mirror of princes" technique, strengthened by the threat of the Day of Judgement, to enlighten and guide rulers. In that tradition, Nicetius in his work and in his widespread letters to rulers directed his efforts to the reformation of secular power and the education of rulers to fit into a model of Christian kingship, a model characterised by concordia among his people and the pietas of the ruler (71). Gregory, too, a slightly later but longer lasting influence on the poet, reveals throughout his writing approval of a king who is gentle and pious in his private life and towards his subjects, and strong and systematic condemnation of a king, such as Chilperic, who did not dedicate heroic virtues to the service of a regnum christianum in loving concord with his bishops (72). Such a vision and such a positive attitude to the guidance of rulers may well be seen behind this poem and others to Frankish kings.

The second poem, De Chariberctho rege (Poem 6.2), is addressed to the king in the presence of the people of Paris. Childebert I had received Paris on the division of the kingdom on the death of Clovis in 511 and ruled it until his death in 558. His brother, Lothar, then seized the city, exiled the widowed queen, Ultrogotha, and her two daughters, and held it till he died in 561. Charibert received the kingdom of Childebert with Paris as its capital in the eventual division of Lothar's lands between the four brothers (73) but his reign was not a period of peace and stability. There was conflict between *Charibert and* Bishop Leontius of Bordeaux, and Bishop Germanus of Paris

excommunicated the king for his polygamous marriages to Merofled and Marcovefa, a runaway nun. The king's sudden death shortly after his refusal to give up Marcovefa was seen by the church as the judgement of God (74).

The poem must be dated to the last few months of the king's life, to late 567 or early 568, when Fortunatus had travelled to Paris. The eulogy begins with a fanfare in honour of the king and the glorious occasion, a characteristic panegyric opening (lines 1-8). The picture of Charibert's fame spreading from east to west again, as in the eulogy to Sigibert (Poem 6.1a.1-2), evokes the traditional motif of the consensus universorum and the sun imagery appropriate to a ruler. This consensus comes from all four corners of the earth (line 5), the phrase "quadripertitis ... sub partibus" possibly also suggesting the fourfold division of Lothar's kingdom, all parts of which consent to Charibert's rule. The broad base of consent is also stressed by identifying the two racial groups, Gallo-Romans and Franks, who applaud the king in their own tongues (line 7).

Attention is then abruptly focussed by a summons to the people of Paris to honour their king (line 9). The Parisians are invited to support Charibert in terms which lay emphasis on his protection of them (tutorem in line 10, pater in line 12) and on the legality of his rule (iure dominus in line 12). The next section (lines 13-26) elaborates on the political and family circumstances of the present occasion: the revival of the happiness of Childebert's reign, now that Charibert is rightfully enthroned and the king's widow, Ultrogotha, recalled with her daughters from the exile into which Lothar had driven them (75). It is worth noting that the women throughout are

referred to by relationship and not by name, a point which emphasises the family ties which give Charibert his claim to the throne (dignus erat heres ... Line 17). A major point of the poem is the connection between Childebert and Charibert through a blood relationship and through common virtues. There may well have been some political advantage in stressing the link with his uncle, who inherited the city from Clovis, rather than with his father. The protection of Childebert's widow (a Christian duty in itself) may, for example, have prevented her becoming an alternative focus of loyalty, and furthermore may have been a gesture to secure the sympathy of those alienated for some reason in the past. Ultrogotha was a devout Christian, even being ranked for her piety with Radegund and Balthild in the later Vita Balthildis (76). Protection of such a saintly woman would cast Charibert in a favourable light. Her late husband, too, was a ruler whose reign had been unusually marked by the advances made by the church and by the number of new ecclesiastical foundations (77). Such associations might well have been emphasised to soothe the wrath of Germanus, whose quarrel with Charibert must have been about this time. The point about Charibert's protective care of the city is underlined and reinforced by the use of the same word, tutor, to describe his relation to his Parisian subjects and to his aunt and cousins (lines 10 and 22), a care which has demonstrably been to the women's advantage.

Fortunatus continues in the conventional panegyric pattern of the basilikos logos with a mention of Charibert's glorious lineage, which the king excels because his rule is one of peace, not of war (line 40). A Golden Age aura is set on this picture of peace and prosperity

(lines 41-44). The poet then sets the account of Charibert's birth in tones of glowing hope and in terms which, as Szöverffy observes, recall the Christian interpretation of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue (78). Szöverffy notes that Fortunatus has already stressed the king's role in bonding the loyalties of the two races (line 7 f.) and that he now goes on to formulate the image of the king as a nova progenies, embodying the qualities and virtues of the Judaeo-Christian and the Roman traditions of rule. The poet is also at pains to emphasise his father Lothar's pride in his eldest son (lines 47-50) and Charibert's right of succession (line 51 ff.). The account of his virtues which follows stresses his merits as a law-giver and peace-maker, tracing his pietas diplomatically to Childebert rather than to Lothar. There is a very solid traditional Roman resonance of civic virtues in this catalogue: constantia (lines 65-68), moderatio (lines 69-70), patientia (lines 77-78), iustitiae rector (lines 79-80), pietas (lines 81-82), and gravitas (lines 83-84). The image of the king as the wall of defence for his people is a long-standing rhetorical motif (79) and strengthens the echoes of Roman imperial statesmanship in this passage.

These phrases are intensified by a rhetorical comparison, first with the biblical characters, Solomon and David, and then with Roman exemplars, Fabius and the pious Trajan, the emperor most celebrated in late antiquity (80) (lines 77-84). These virtues, in a biblical image, give a strong and secure foundation upon which the house may rest safely (lines 85-96). Fortunatus ends this eulogy by praising Charibert's mastery of language:

which?

cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sigamber,
 floret in eloquio lingua Latina tuo.
 qualis es in propria docto sermone loquella,
 qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio?

(lines 97-100)

(though you are a Sicamber, sprung from that famous stock,
 the Latin language flourishes in your eloquence. What is
 your facility with learned speech in your own tongue, you
 who surpass us Romans in eloquence?)

The apposition of the emotive term Sigamber, recalling the racial origins of the Merovingians, with nos Romanos gives the eulogy a tone of curious dignity, a tribute from one ancient race to another on equal terms especially flattering in that the virtues being attributed to Charibert are particularly Roman ones - those of wise and law-giving rule and the oratorical skills employed in the public display of that rule. For Fortunatus' audience, Sigamber may also have evoked not only the fabled lineage of the Franks but also have reminded them of the words of Bishop Remigius as he accepted the conversion of Clovis and baptised the king, thus signalling the Christianity of the Franks:

Mitis depone colla, Sigamber: adora quod incendisti, incende
 quod adorasti.

(Gregory, HF 2.31)

(Bow your neck in meekness, Sicamber: worship what you have
 burnt, burn what you used to worship.)

The term may well act as a reminder of the Christianity of the Merovingian royal house, and again, as in Poem 6.1a, reveal Fortunatus using a "mirror of princes" technique to urge more conformity with the wishes of the church upon Charibert.

The portrait of the king is rounded off by an almost baroque tableau of Charibert sitting wreathed in glory, with the light imagery appropriate to a king. Fortunatus then invokes again the consensus of the people (line 106) and finishes with an epilogue of prayer for the mutual happiness of the king and people.

The structure of the poem is the traditional ordering of the topics of the basilikos logos: introduction, the subject's family and birth, his deeds and virtues, an epilogue. This structure is by no means artificially imposed on what Fortunatus has to say. The comparative emphasis on certain sections is dictated by their importance and the sections flow easily by associations of rhetorical thought or wording, as the rhetorical handbooks suggest they should.

The setting of the poem is a public occasion, on which Fortunatus is playing the traditional part of the panegyrist in presenting the king to the people. The vivid present tenses and the direct apostrophes to the king and to the Parisians suggest that the poem was declaimed publicly (81). The grouping of the citizens (line 7) and the summons to them to welcome the king suggest that the declamation of the poem may have been part of an adventus ceremony, similar to that of Guntram at Orleans (82). Referred to as present are Ultrogotha and her daughters (83), Gallo-Romans and Frankish nobles (line 7), and the people of Paris themselves, introduced in varying degrees of importance as dramatis personae in this ceremonial performance.

The general tenor of the poem is that the king's rule is peaceful and righteous, that the people can now live in security and comfort and that the good old days of Childebert have been restored with the restoration of his family to their home. Fortunatus is at pains to stress several points. Firstly, that Charibert now fills the place left by Childebert after the rule of Lothar and the brief and unsuccessful snatch of power by Chilperic. This Fortunatus does not even deign to mention. Only the emphasis on the legality of Charibert's position condemns it by implication. The general suggestion then is that the loss of Childebert was not made good by Lothar and has only now been remedied by Charibert's accession (line 13). Throughout there is an emphasis on the family line of succession and Charibert's status as the eldest son (see especially lines 45-46 and 53-54), stressed by the wording: iure ... dominus (line 12), heres (line 17), heredis (line 51) and lege favente (line 60). This point is perhaps also reinforced by the presence of Childebert's widow and her family and the description of Charibert as pater (line 24) and genitoris (line 26).

The nature of Charibert's reign, on this presentation, as the establishment of peace and the rule of law and mercy comes through clearly (84). Charibert's portrayal as a father is not only a point of the legality of succession but has overtones of protective care and concern (85). This is strengthened by the emphasis throughout on family relationships and the responsibilities these entail and probably dramatically by the actual presence of the queen and the two princesses as evidence of Charibert's sense of justice and mercy. The catalogue of peaceful and statesmanlike virtues (lines 37-44 and

53-94), together with an outright condemnation of warlike qualities (lines 37-44), and the vision of Charibert as the unifying focus of both Franks and Gallo-Romans, rounds off this portrayal. A further dimension of Christian grace and hope is suggested by the Messianic overtones of the Vergilian nova progenies and the strong identification of Charibert with the devout Ultrogotha and Childebert.

The dramatic force of the poem is helped by the smooth bonding of the different topics and the overall integration of the argument by verbal slides. In reference to Charibert's protective justice, for example, the word tutor is applied both to his relation with the Parisians (line 10) and to Ultrogotha (line 22), as has been said. This both links the topics and reinforces the impact of this practical instance of his justice, which thus offers hope to the Parisians. The echo of genitoris (line 26) in progenies (line 27) smoothes the transition from his role vis-à-vis Ultrogotha to his own childhood and family. There is a neat transition from the section on Charibert's ancestry to that on his birth: frugis (line 43) of the hope of this Golden Age suggests easily the image of Charibert's life as the seges for his people (line 44) and from "life" there is an easy transition to the start of that life in the next line. Senes (line 52) in reference to his childhood and senior (line 54) in reference to his adult status underline Charibert's right to be in his father's place. Lege favente (line 60), the legality of Charibert's position, foreshadows the following lines on the law-giving nature of the king's reign. The idea that his promises are abiding and remain good (lines 95-96) leads back to the vision of a united and peaceful king and people via the biblical image of the house which also stands firm

because it is properly founded.

The formal structure of the poem is used skilfully as a vehicle for these specific points. This is not just a static, two-dimensional catalogue of a king's official merits but a dynamic and forceful public relations exercise. In view of the known tensions between the king and the Parisians, especially the clergy, the poem may well be seen as a move of reconciliation, offering the people and the church a pledge of the king's good resolutions and at the same time holding up for the king the ideal for which he should be aiming. Compared with the panegyrics of Claudian, Sidonius and Merobaudes, the poem is relatively short and simple. Fortunatus has abandoned the traditional apparatus of mythology and personification, of long harangues by minor deities or purple passages of narrative. He still, however, retains the rhetorical topics and sequence of thought which gives panegyric its coherence. This framework enables Fortunatus to present effectively the facts and arguments relevant in the situation to persuade the people of Charibert's right to power and his ability and will to exercise it well.

As in the poem to Sigibert, Fortunatus combines the aspects of the king as the legitimate ruler in the Roman pattern with that of him as the Christian defender of his people and explicitly sees him as uniting the two races as the single focus of their loyalty. The panegyric format, evoking the consensus omnium, stressing the king's right to rule by virtue of his birth and of his qualities, using the imperial motif of light, invoking classical exempla, declares the legitimate nature of Charibert's reign. The use of Christian exempla and biblical imagery present that aspect of the ruler, reflecting the

virtues of Christ in his rule. The mediation between king and people, the traditional role of the panegyrist, is focused in this case on a sympathetic presentation of Charibert to the Parisians, a virtual apologia for the king. The suggestion by Nisard and Caron that the poem must have been written in ignorance of the king's true character is naïve (86). Such a panegyric surely implies a perceptive assessment of the king's faults and the matters at issue between ruler and people. As in the eulogy to Sigibert and Brunhild, Fortunatus reacts sensitively and positively to a political situation. There are two important features of this positive reaction. The first is the significant and novel vision Fortunatus offers of synthesis between the two worlds, Roman and barbarian, the peaceful blend of cultures. This is in striking contrast to the reactions of Sidonius, for example, of Ausonius or, in Africa, of Dracontius, who evince attitudes of opposition and alienation to the barbarian incomers (87). The second is the development of the "mirror of princes" technique to suggest an ideal of kingship characterised by pietas and concordia, virtues which have roots in the traditional Roman qualities but which gain special significance in the context of contemporary ecclesiastical thinking.

The third eulogy in chronological sequence is Poem 9.1, a poem addressed to Chilperic on the occasion of the synod of the bishops of the king's realm in August 580 at Berny-Rivière, the royal estate near Paris, to hear a charge of treason brought against Gregory of Tours.

The poem addresses the assembled bishops and the king directly and there is no reason to suppose it was not declaimed at some point

during the synod. No precise indication is given of whether the poem was delivered before or after the hearing, though it may be more easily supposed to have been declaimed at some celebration after the hearing, when a decision had been reached and tensions broken.

The poem is seen by Koebner (88) and by Dill (89) as a disgraceful betrayal by Fortunatus of his friend and patron in a time of great danger. Dill indeed terms Fortunatus a "venal flatterer" and sees his only purpose in this poem as being to secure safety and patronage for himself. Dill's judgement is that "he is a decadent alike in style and morals". Koebner attacks Meyer's apologia for Fortunatus (90) and detects a double dishonesty, firstly in the insincerity of the genre itself and secondly in the poet's motives on this occasion. These views have been echoed more recently by von Moos in his work on Consolatio (91) and by Reydellet in his work on images of royalty in Latin literature of this period (92). Some of the misconceptions underlying such criticisms of work in this genre have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Detailed analysis of the poem itself in its context may serve to illuminate more clearly the poet's intention.

The bishops had been summoned to witness Gregory's prosecution by Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux on a charge, brought by Count Leudast of Tours, of treasonable slander against Chilperic's queen, Fredegund. The slander concerned the alleged adultery of Fredegund with Bertram, a charge doubly threatening to Chilperic in that Bertram was a half-cousin of Chilperic and might be suspected of having pretensions to royal power. (93)

The roots of the affair lie far back in the feud between Fredegund, Chilperic's queen, and Brunhild. The feud had originated in

Chilperic's murder of Brunhild's sister, Galswinth; it had continued with the assassination of Sigibert by Fredegund. The widowed Brunhild had sought protection by marrying Merovech, Chilperic's rebellious son(94), one of their supporters being Bishop Praetextatus of Rouen, who performed the marriage ceremony. An attack soon afterwards by the Austrasians persuaded Chilperic to see all this as a carefully staged plot against himself (95) and to seek to defend himself. In 577, three years before Gregory's own trial, Praetextatus was charged with bribery and corruption in buying support for Merovech and tried in a court presided over by Bertram (96). On that occasion Gregory openly warned his fellow bishops against tampering with holy justice for personal ends, whilst Chilperic and Fredegund tried to bribe him into a more reasonable frame of mind. The bishop was outraged when Chilperic tricked Praetextatus into making a public confession and then used it as grounds for expelling the bishop from his see.

These hostilities and divisions were exploited by Leudast of Tours, a long-standing enemy of Gregory, to gain vengeance for past humiliations (97). The charge was a shrewd one. It threatened a violent and hot-tempered king who had not hesitated to execute summary justice in other cases or to resort to treachery to achieve his ends. Even if the legal forms were observed, Chilperic and Bertram had an additionally strong interest in having Gregory convicted, in that, if he were cleared, they ran the risk of being excommunicated for bringing such a charge. The threat to Gregory was considerable.

In the event Gregory was supported strongly by his fellow bishops and cleared himself of the allegations by a sworn statement of his innocence, it being agreed that the evidence of inferiors could not

be accepted against a bishop.

The poem, unlike the two previous ones, begins with a direct address to the subjects of the king present, the bishops assembled at Berny (lines 1-4). This suggests strongly that the poem was actually declaimed on this occasion. The respectful salutation is underlined by a self-deprecatory reference. Fortunatus then turns to the king and hails him loftily in a manner reminiscent of Horace's address to Maecenas (98), speaking of the glorious descent and noble lineage he has enriched by his temperate rule (moderando - lines 5-12). He speaks of the king's fame as being world-wide, a rhetorical exaggeration even greater than the similar praise of Charibert and Sigibert. The light imagery of imperial panegyric is marked in this passage: in the use of fulgorem (line 11), splendor (line 12) and especially in the sun imagery of lines 13 to 14, where Chilperic is hailed as lux altera. The breadth of his acclaim (lines 15-22) proclaims the consensus universorum Fortunatus also attributed to his brothers. The legitimacy and status of the king's rule are also emphasised by the use of royal titles: rex some five times (lines 5, 243, 55, 109, 134), princeps three times (lines 17, 65 and 85) and rector three times (lines 7, 79 and 113). Through his valour he has been the salvation of his country (lines 23-28), a point Fortunatus emphasises by an explanation of the Frankish meaning of the king's name (99). In the next section (lines 29-40) Fortunatus speaks of Chilperic's birth and early years, suggesting that his very name presaged the nature of the king's future rule (lines 29-30). Fortunatus stresses the cura of Lothar for Chilperic in preference to his older brothers, this emotional bond emphasised by addressing the king with the affectionate term dulce

caput (100). It is interesting to compare this characterisation of Chilperic's status and role in the royal family with the parallel passage in the address to Charibert, where it is the legality of his position as eldest son which is important (101). Perhaps this is the only consolation for a youngest son. Certainly Fortunatus emphasises Lothar's recognition of Chilperic's potential worth - auspiciis magnis crevisti (line 39) - as distinct from any position or greatness he might have of right. It was certainly the case that Lothar had abandoned Ingund, the mother of Charibert, Guntram and Sigibert, to pursue her sister, Aregund (102), who became Chilperic's mother. Lothar's particular affection for the mother perhaps extended to the son and is used here by Fortunatus to win Chilperic's sympathetic ear for his persuasion.

The structure of the poem is clearly that of the basilikos logos, the formal royal panegyric. Fortunatus continues the rhetorical sequence of topics by reviewing the king's deeds in peace and in war (lines 41-78). It is difficult to identify the events he refers to, since references are oblique. Presumably his meaning would be clear to his audience but, for us, lack of precise reference makes it difficult to assess the poet's presentation of these happenings.

The potential tranquillity of Chilperic's reign (regna quieta, line 42), Fortunatus suggests, with no apparent irony, has been marred by the assaults of malign fortune (line 41). The first such occasion is described as the disruption of the foedera fratrum (line 43), which surely must refer to the feuding between the brothers on Lothar's death (103). Lines 45 to 50 refer to a period during which Chilperic was in great danger of his life and saved only operante deo (line 48).

This may refer to the siege by Sigibert of Tournai in 575, when Chilperic and Fredegund did indeed feel that they were in desperate straits (104), only to be saved by Fredegund's assassination of Sigibert. Such a reference would give line 48, the allusion to their escape by the direct intervention of God, the sinister and distasteful implication that the deed was morally acceptable, a view unlikely to meet with the approval of the audience of bishops at least (105). In view of the circumstances of declamation, a reference to the earlier stages of what Chilperic now saw as the plot against him, to the siege of Soissons the following year (106), which had its place in the activities of Praetextatus and Merovech, is more likely.

Lines 51-54 may then be seen as continuing the account of this rebellion, one which, though it did not threaten Chilperic and Fredegund as directly and violently as the siege of Tournai, in fact represented a more wide-spread disaffection from his rule. It may be that Fortunatus' care to emphasise that a ruling was made at the previous Council in 577 without the king's presence or intervention (sine te, line 53) reflects the importance to Chilperic of the fact that Praetextatus made an apparently voluntary confession (107). The cathedra (line 54) may be the seat of Praetextatus, since returned to its proper place in loyalty to Chilperic (108).

These vicissitudes, Fortunatus suggests, have had nothing but an ennobling and strengthening effect on the king's character (lines 55-66). After the various threats (line 59), the king is able to resume his peaceful ways (lines 59 and 66), a characterisation of Chilperic's rule which echoes the comment earlier in line 43, however much it might surprise contemporaries. The king's courage protects

the people from internal foes (line 71, a comment which gives further evidence of the threat felt by Chilperic from internal plots) and from foreign enemies (lines 67-84). The portrayal of Chilperic's warlike prowess (lines 73-76), as that of the extent of his fame earlier, is considerably exaggerated, in the absence of any notable foreign campaigns during the king's reign. The list of overawed nations (line 73) seems merely rhetorical exaggeration and in any case really refers back to his father's wars. The reference to the Frisians and the Swabians in line 75 may however refer to a Swabian embassy which Chilperic hijacked on its way to Guntram about the time of this Council (109). Tua frena rogant hardly matches what little Gregory of Tours tells us of this happening but Chilperic's interpretation of events is not likely to coincide with the bishop's to any great extent. In the summary of the king's protection of his people (lines 77-78), terrore novo may refer to the crisis which has caused the present Council to be assembled and which is now hopefully resolved with the exile of Leudast (assuming the declamation is after the hearing).

The king's behaviour is then depicted in the terms common both to biblical imagery and to the architectural symbolism of rhetoric as a shield of defence, a tower of strength and so on (110). It is interesting to note in this passage that all the images are those of defence, not of attack, the implication being that, though Chilperic is by nature peaceloving, he will fight hard and effectively when provoked, though not without provocation. Fortunatus then turns from the king's deeds of war to his peaceable virtues. He emphasises the king's love of justice and the prevalence of truth with the visual imagery of scales of justice and the rectaque causarum linea (line 88).

an emphasis which has significance in this context and a certain irony in view of Gregory's account of Chilperic's behaviour at both the Councils.

Chilperic is then complimented on his qualities as a civilised Christian statesman in terms presenting a flattering view of his interests in poetry, literature and doctrinal matters - interests which Gregory comments on rather more caustically (111). Fortunatus elaborates at length on Chilperic's superiority over his illustrious family by virtue of these studies (lines 103-114).

The subsequent prayer for the king's prosperity is linked to a short eulogy of Fredegund (lines 115-126), which praises her as a virtuous and loyal wife, again a significant characteristic in this context when her character was at stake, but one which seems to have had a genuine basis in fact. She is portrayed in line 123 as bearing the burden of the concerns of state. Her nervous exhaustion and depression in reaction to the events of the kingdom (112) certainly reveal her as committed by force of circumstances, if not by loyalty, to Chilperic's fortunes. This eulogy, as the short encomium on Brunhild in Poem 6.1a, is entirely in accord with Menander's prescription for the basilikos logos (113).

Lines 127 to 132 apparently speak of the support given to Chilperic by Radegund. The somewhat cryptic reference:

et tibi mercedem de Radegunde facit

(and she brings you gain from Radegund)

is explained by Leo as "et Radegundis precibus caeli gratiam tibi

conciliare studet" (i.e. Radegund) - (and she strives to win the grace of heaven for you by the prayers of Radegund). The reference is somewhat unexpected. There is no mention in Gregory's account of the affair to any involvement of Radegund, though there need not necessarily have been and Baudonivia characterised the ex-queen as being often involved in attempts at mediation and peacemaking (114). Lines 129 and 130 must refer to Fredegund:

quae meritis propriis effulget gloria regis
et regina suo facta corona viro.

(who through her own merits is resplendent, a tribute to the king, and, made queen, a crowning glory to her husband.)

The lines also use the same light imagery in tribute to Fredegund which has earlier been used in depicting Chilperic. The following lines may be translated as:

in the fullness of time may she honour you with the birth of a child, and may a grandson come hence, so that you will be given new life by being a grandfather.

(lines 131-132)

(tempore sub longo haec te fructu prolis honoret,
surgat et inde nepos, ut renoveris avus).

Fredegund had already recently lost one son, Samson (115), and was about to lose her two other sons, Chlodobert and Dagobert, in the dysentery epidemic only few weeks hence (116). These latter deaths

were still in the future, however, and, though more sons were perhaps always desirable, the emphasis on the offspring as a grandchild, rather than as a child, seems curious.

Chilperic and Fredegund had a marriageable daughter, Rigunth, negotiations for whose marriage to Reccared, son of Leuvigild, are noted as already having begun by 582 (117). It might be suggested that, in anticipation of this or a similar event, Fortunatus is here referring to Rigunth, not to Radegund. Gregory certainly speaks of the girl's strong support of him by prayer and fasting at the time of his trial (118) and her apparently successful petitions can be read as easily into mercedem in line 128 as Leo's explanation about Radegund. At least we know for certain that Rigunth did pray on Gregory's behalf. The name is one which a scribe could easily have substituted as one familiar to him in connection with Fortunatus. The scansion, assuming *Rīgūnthē*, would offer a solitary example of Fortunatus' changing the usual metrical pattern of the pentameter. This is a weak link in the argument but, as Tardi observes, there are a number of examples of metric licence by Fortunatus (119). If this emendation is accepted, inde in line 132 would then refer to the marriage of Rigunth and Reccared and the hope of children from that union.

In that case the vindication of Gregory is here identified with the wellbeing of Chilperic (salus in line 127): the attack on Gregory was a subversive attack on the king and to foil one was to foil the other. The picture is of the loyal queen and her daughter working nobly for the safety of the king through the vindication of the bishop (lines 127-128). Quae in the next couplet continues the reference to Fredegund who was the subject in lines 127 and 128, but haec in line

131, pointing the contrast in reference, identifies Rigunth and her future family, rather than (somewhat awkwardly) Fredegund again, as it would have to do if we read "Radegunde". Inde in line 132 refers then to this union and not to prolis in line 131.

The poem concludes with good wishes for the king and his kingdom. The salus of the king, sought by Rigunth and Fredegund, is developed in earthly and in heavenly terms. Chilperic's rule, and the future of his family, is linked with the rule of Christ. The veiled suggestion that the existence of heirs and the wellbeing of his lineage depended on his piety and orthodox rule, is made by the conjunction of the two couplets in lines 131 to 134, and emphasised by the link, ergo. This train of thought would be familiar to a king and queen who, two months later, remitted taxes at great cost to themselves to buy the remission from death of their two sons in the dysentery epidemic. It is also, as is the "mirror of princes" advice in this and the two earlier panegyrics, well in the tradition of Gallic episcopal warnings and recommendations to rulers in the fifth and sixth centuries, which use the threat of judgement and the wrath of God to urge conformity to the ecclesiastical ideal of kingship (120).

At the same time this positive ideal of kingship is developed by linking the king's rule with the rule of Christ (lines 133-136). The titles given to Christ - rex (line 134) and rector (line 135) - echo those given to Chilperic. The king is an earthly conqueror (line 137). But his image is essentially that of a pious and orthodox Christian ruler, surrounded by his bishops, protecting his people and standing strong against heresy (lines 141-146), a very church-centred image.

The poem concludes neatly with an echo of the modesty topos at the

start of the panegyric.

The structure is clearly that of the basilikos logos, the royal panegyric, and it seems probable that the poem was declaimed before the people it addresses, the king and his bishops. In the sequence of topics, the comment on the occasion (lines 1-4) is followed by praise of the king's family (lines 5-12), his birth and early years (lines 29-40), his deeds (lines 41-78) both in peace and in war; as a coda, his family is praised, as is appropriate in the circumstances, and the poem ends with an epilogue. There are the rhetorical motifs of the poet's modesty topos, the imagery of political and military power and even the significant supernatural touch in the omen of the king's name. As in the panegyric to Charibert, the various aspects of Merovingian kingship are woven together in the picture Fortunatus gives of Chilperic. The king is a warrior. But the emphasis is on the legitimacy of Chilperic's rule in the Roman tradition and his protection of his people as an orthodox Christian ruler. The titles by which the king is addressed, the imagery of light and the sun, the very length and formal elaboration of the topics put the occasion and the participants firmly in the Roman tradition. The emphasis on the king's protection of his people as a Christian king, his defence of them against danger and against heresy, given the circumstances of the Council, identify him as the secular focus of the church and with the right mind of the church in all matters.

In content too this is a panegyric. However distasteful the flattery may seem, however fulsome and exaggerated, we must separate judgements of the artistic merits of the poem from those of the moral worth of the genre itself, or indeed of the poet, though all are

closely connected. As a panegyric, the poem obviously must present the past in a form acceptable to the king. The degree of distortion is difficult to judge in the absence of so much relevant evidence. However, the picture is strongly one of a king who is as much a lawgiver as a warrior. Even when the king is portrayed as a warrior, the images are of defence, not of offence. The familiar panegyric image of the king's protective care as a wall of defence (121) is stressed here, especially in lines 79 to 84. Chilperic's martial actions are given as justifiable defences against great dangers threatening either himself (lines 45-50, 51-54) or his people (lines 75-84). His detailed qualities are preponderantly peaceful (lines 85-114) - truth, justice, munificence, an interest in theology, poetry and learning. It is these qualities which distinguish him from the aggressive fighters of his family (line 107). Throughout the poem Fortunatus consistently suggests that, but for circumstances which force hostilities on the king, his rule would be outstanding for its peacefulness and security (lines 7, 23, 41, 66) and that, now this present threat has been countered, the king will fulfill the potential until now frustrated, with a character tempered by adversity. The qualities attributed to Fredegund are similarly gentle and beneficent (122).

Panegyric has a didactic, advisory aspect, which was evident in the "mirror of princes" technique employed by Fortunatus in the panegyrics to Sigibert and Charibert (122). Here again we may well see such an intent. The section on the present circumstances (line 125 ff.) presents the picture of a united and virtuous family working for the salus of the king, in both an eternal and temporal sense. Fortunatus'

only direct imperative to the king is to urge him to thank and worship God who is his help and strength, a suggestion no less telling because it is cushioned in the flattery perhaps needed to deal with so short-tempered a king. The identification of Chilperic's wellbeing with his rule in Christ's image and, implicitly, in harmony with Christ's church, could well have had a prescriptive force. The kind of veiled warning implicit in this is certainly one which would have come home to the royal couple, as has been suggested. The reference to Rigunth, if such it is, and the general tone of conciliation of the poem, make it likely that it was delivered after the hearing. If this admittedly rather circular argument is correct, the poem is written in a context in which the king had been outwitted by the bishops' support for Gregory and by implication put in the difficult position of being liable for excommunication. At the end of the earlier furore centred on Praetextatus, when Gregory was also publicly and resolutely opposed to Chilperic and Bertram, Chilperic clearly still harboured resentment and antagonism towards him, as Leudast saw and attempted to use to his own advantage. This poem, then, written with the emphasis described and in such circumstances, may well be a carefully constructed attempt, using the "mirror of princes" technique earlier employed with Sigibert and particularly with Charibert, to make the king realise that he was fortunate that Leudast's plotting had been exposed, the Count and his associates dealt with, and he and Fredegund out of the affair so well in the face of opposition from the people and from the closed ranks of virtually all the bishops. The image presented is that of the king whose enemies are defeated by God's help, who recognises this and rules his people in peace and in the fear of God.

There is no explicit mention of Gregory perhaps precisely because Fortunatus wanted to put the matter into a wider perspective and not to stir up contentious detail, now hopefully settled. Since the verdict of the bishops' court had been that Gregory was innocent, Fortunatus must, in urging the king to accept God's will, be urging the acceptance of that decision and an end to any further vendettas.

The rhetorical format of panegyric gives the ideal structure for praise and indirect persuasion, a chance to review past deeds in a way which suggests what present and future actions should be. Fortunatus stands between the king and the bishops but is speaking for the bishops to the king. A parallel panegyric would be that of Sidonius to Marjorian on behalf of the people of Lyons (124). Though, as in the address to Charibert, the panegyric is not as long or as elaborate as those of Sidonius or Claudian, Fortunatus uses the full basic structure of the basilikos logos and several rhetorical motifs to carry out the traditional political role of the panegyrist, that of persuasion and mediation.

Though the two earlier eulogies contain many of the motifs and images also present in this poem, they are more fully and skilfully developed here. The panegyric to Charibert drew a picture of the Christian king, the protector and leader of his people, in a way which was prescriptive to an extent in showing to Charibert an ideal of kingship. But the panegyric also seemed concerned to use the presence of Ultrogotha and her daughters to explain to the people Charibert's real virtues. The overall impression was that of the poet mediating in practical fashion between ruler and ruled, in advising the king that protection of the people is his duty, but at the same time

demonstrating to the people that Charibert has a proper sense of the duties of a Christian ruler. The poem to Chilperic conveys a tougher and more positive approach to the relationship between the king and his people. Fortunatus is still concerned to mediate, to reconcile. But the picture of what the king should be is in sharper focus, and is given impact by the veiled hint of divine sanctions. This confidence may come from the fact that Fortunatus is speaking as the voice of the bishops. But it seems to be more than that. The ideal the poet offers transcends this particular confrontation and is drawn with a confident and creative skill which suggests that the poet speaks for himself, and not just as the mouthpiece of the Council. Here perhaps we can see in action the development in Fortunatus of the more spiritual insight into the role of king and people which Reydellet identifies and which perhaps stems in part from contemporary ecclesiastical attitudes (125). The poet crystallised and gave public voice to ideas about the spiritual basis of Merovingian kingship which Gregory only, and often cynically, regarded at the level of real-politik.

We may deplore Fortunatus' "venal flattery" or we may see the poem as a brave attempt, though at times a distastefully exaggerated one, to defuse what was still possibly a threatening situation for Gregory. There certainly seems no need to see it as a betrayal of Gregory. The reverse may well be the case, in that Fortunatus is making a public stand and passing judgement on Chilperic, however indirectly and tactfully, and thus risking the king's anger. Whatever the moral assessment of it as a means to an end, it is clearly a skilful and dynamic use of the genre as a tool of control and persuasion in a

political situation and as such a true continuation of the panegyric tradition.

The fourth Merovingian royal address is a short eulogy to Childebert II and Brunhild, Poem 10.8. A possible date is suggested both by the internal evidence and by the relative position of the poem. It seems reasonable that the group of poems addressed to Childebert II and Brunhild, Poems 10.7, 8 and 9 (and probably Appendix 5 and 6) are to be dated to the same period, as are the group of poems to Sigibert and Brunhild (Poems 6.1 and 1a) and those to Chilperic and Fredegund (Poems 9.1 and 5). In addition, Poem 10.7 is linked to Poem 10.8 by comparable allusions in both poems to a hope for children and to nova regna. The reference to nova regna in Poem 10.8.17 is echoed in Poem 10.7.62; the wish for children in Poem 10.8.21-24 is mirrored by the lines of Poem 10.7.59-61 (126). Poem 10.7 can be dated to after Rade Gund's death on August 13th, 587, by the reference to her heavenly existence in line 25. By implication Poem 10.8 should be dated similarly (127). Further evidence for a more precise date lies in the poem itself. Fortunatus refers to a situation where there are hopes of peace and political stability arising from a new settlement of territory (lines 7 and 17) and where Brunhild has the prospect of grandchildren to continue the family (lines 21-26). On November 28th, 587, the treaty of Andelot was agreed between Guntram, Childebert and Brunhild (128). The plot against them by Rauching, Ursio and Berthefried had been foiled and Rauching killed (129). The treaty formalised an agreement over the distribution of Charibert's former kingdom and the cities which were Galswinth's morgengabe and this

agrees well with the references in both Poems 10.7 and 10.8 to territorial changes. Agreement had been reached over an issue that had long been contentious, a military threat had been eliminated, and there was hope of genuine peace and stability.

As far as family matters were concerned, the treaty provided for the protection of the two queens, of Chlodosind, Brunhild's daughter, and of Faileuba's children. Shortly before the treaty Reccared had asked for Chlodosind in marriage (130), and Brunhild and Childebert had given their consent, subject to Guntram's approval. The treaty therefore implied Chlodosind's marriage and thus possible grandchildren for Brunhild, with the political strength this promised through closer liaison with the Visigothic kingdom. Childebert had one son, Theudebert, by a concubine in 585 (131) and another son, Theuderic, shortly before this date by Faileuba (132). Childebert therefore at this time had hopes of more sons and thence of grandsons by Faileuba (133) and her children, all now protected by the new treaty.

There is also an interesting parallel between the sentiments of this poem and the prayer of the childless Guntram reported by Gregory on the occasion of the treaty:

Laudabat enim Dominum Guntchramnys rex, dicens: Refero tibi maximas gratias, omnipotens Deus, qui mihi praestetisti, ut videre merear filios de filio meo Childebercto. Unde non me puto usquequaque a tua maiestate relictum, qui mihi praestetisti, ut videam filios filii mei.

(Gregory, HF 9.11)

(King Guntram gave thanks to the Lord, saying: "Almighty God, I thank you heartily for having allowed me to see the sons of my son Childebert. Now that you have allowed me to see the sons of my son, I no longer consider myself abandoned completely by your almighty power.)

After years of bitter strife, the surviving members of Lothar's family, or at least most of them, and their children were uniting to ensure their mutual protection and a stable succession. A date may then be suggested in late November or early December 587 for the poem to celebrate this significant occasion.

A celebration of the splendour of the occasion and of Childebert and Brunhild begins the poem. Yet, to categorise the genre, it is lalia or more informal encomium rather than a basilikos logos in that it is short and relatively unstructured. An outburst of delighted acclaim of peace and security (lines 7-12) soon overrides any formal rhetorical sequence of topics. Peace is the gift of Childebert and Brunhild and the emphasis is on the gift rather than the givers. The relief and thanksgiving of the people are expressed by Fortunatus for the wellbeing of the king and queen; the people have received what they want, may Childebert and Brunhild be granted their wishes (lines 29-30). The informality, directness and simplicity of the message give a strong impression of a sincere gratiarum actio. Yet the formal introduction, the mellifluous wishes, the modesty topos combine to produce a literary tone of dignified exhilaration. Fortunatus speaks on behalf of the people:

qualiter hic populus dominorum pendet amore
et vestris oculis lumina fixa tenet

(lines 33-34)

(as the people here with love of their lords
gaze and keep their eyes fixed on your
presence)

and of himself, identified with the people's wishes:

hic ego cum populo mea vota et gaudia iungo

(line 13)

(here I join my prayers and praise to the people's).

These demonstrative allusions suggest that the poem was declaimed publicly: that is to say, in the presence of more than a small circle of courtiers. But, as Ausonius has done in his gratiarum actio to Gratian, so too Fortunatus departs from the formal and distant form of address to a more personal and simple format. There is nothing of the dramatic interaction between the various members of the audience that there is in the panegyric to Charibert. The poem does not attempt to persuade or mediate in a political or military context. Its structure is simple: there is no conventional rhetorical sequence of topics on the deeds and virtues of Childebert and Brunhild. Indeed the description of them and their reign largely in terms of abstract nouns for moral and aesthetic qualities (134) perhaps conveys an impression of a static moment of happiness and success, of having arrived at a goal. The more usual catalogue of events and achievements, by

contrast, suggests movement, change, and direction towards a further objective. The imagery of light, of growth and fruitfulness, introducing traditional motifs of praise and panegyric, reinforces this mood of elation (135), this visual sense being intensified by the opening vignette of the people gazing up at their rulers in respectful gratitude (lines 3-4).

These four poems offer an interesting range from the more formal and heavily structured panegyric to the more informal encomium, the distinction being made in terminology on the criterion of the degree to which the poem conforms to the full format of a traditional basilikos logos, the royal panegyric. The address to Chilperic at one end of the scale is given in a tense political situation where Fortunatus appears to be playing an active role. The formal structure of the genre brings to bear on Chilperic the full prestigious weight of Roman panegyric, playing on the king's devotion to literature and to Roman poetry in particular. The panegyric was very probably declaimed publicly and was more than a literary exercise, the poet seeking to influence the king positively by holding up to him a certain view of his powers and responsibilities as a Christian king. We do not know the full context for the address to Charibert. Nevertheless it seems to have the positive political purpose of mediation and interpretation, this time on behalf of the king to the people, and also the intent of giving advice to the king. It is a more vigorous and lively work in that it brings out other actors, albeit silent ones, into the drama of the panegyric. Like the previous address, it appears to be written for public declamation. The two poems to Sigibert and Childebert are on a

smaller scale. They lack the traditional sequence of topics, though it is interesting to note that the poem to Sigibert, more directed at influencing and advising the king, has also a more formal rhetorical flavour.

The poems are simple and short compared with those of earlier panegyrists. There are no elaborate set pieces or mythological apparitions. The basis of the public and private moral values presented is a strong and explicitly Christian one. In this Fortunatus reveals a strikingly consistent view of the role of Christian kingship over more than twenty years, of the king's responsibility to care for and protect his people in peace as far as possible. The four poems are addressed to four very different kings in a variety of circumstances, suggesting that his basic outlook arose more from the poet's own views and allegiances than from any particular political expediency.

Indeed in the panegyric to Chilperic, Fortunatus, so far from time-serving, may even have gone dangerously far in offering implicit criticism of the king.

It is possible to see in the ideas of kingship implied and stated in the panegyric to Chilperic a development of the image given in the earlier poems to Sigibert and Charibert. The king's role on earth more explicitly parallels that of Christ over all things created, the king's duties are focussed on the defence of his Catholic realm. At the same time all the poems present the kings as successors to Roman rule in Gaul, rulers established in the imperial tradition through consensus and recognised duly by their people. Through this filter of Roman imperial rhetoric it is possible to see, not only the images of legitimacy imposed by the language and genre used, but also a

prescriptive image, a "mirror of princes", to urge on the rulers the thought that the due form of their rule also brought with it the duty to protect those who recognised their position.

In the image Fortunatus creates of kings in his royal panegyrics, there is a clear overlap between the virtues expected of a king and those of a bishop. A king should protect and care for his people, be the focal point of his church and bishops, and have a concern for the spiritual as well as for the material wellbeing of his subjects. As has been said, the image is well founded in the Gallic tradition. Bishop Remigius of Rheims gave similar advice to Clovis (136), as did Aurelian of Arles to Theodebert I (137). Gregory strongly approved of Guntram's piety and charitable works (138). Fortunatus himself, in the poem on the church of St. Vincent, built by Childebert I in Paris, likens the king explicitly to Melchisedech (Poem 2.10.17-24), a figure who exemplifies the royal priesthood of ancient Israel. The poet would have known the famous mosaic of Melchisedech in San Vitale at Ravenna, in which the king played his part in the representation of the divine order in heaven and earth, as shown in the past and the present. In this mosaic Justin and Theodora appear on either side of the altar and are linked to the eucharist by forming an offertory procession. The king of Salem appears both as offering bread and wine in a prefiguration of the eucharist and, as von Simpson suggests, as "the embodiment of the theocratic aspirations of the Byzantine monarchy" (139). As von Simpson also observes, Melchisedech was seen also as a forerunner of Christ and therefore in this image, the figure of the Christian emperor could blend with that of Christ (140). The close parallel drawn between the rule of Chilperic and the rule of Christ in

his panegyric to the king introduces this aspect of the religious nature of Merovingian kingship (141). The Frankish king has a Christ-like as well as a quasi-sacerdotal aspect which is brought out in these panegyrics and in the address to Chilperic in particular. In this imagery the poet emphasises and perhaps even develops thought about the nature of Frankish kingship; he continues the ideas already expressed by Frankish bishops and possibly also overlays them with the Ravennan parallel between Christ and the king.

In this respect Fortunatus may be seen as innovating and developing understanding at a significant theological and political level. In the vision of Charibert as the Messianic nova progenies, heralding a fusion between the two races through the focus of their loyalties to the king, the poet also seems to be offering, in the panegyrics which interpret and expound the nature of kingship, an image of political structures which differs significantly from what had been expressed before. In both these aspects, the thought underlying the poet's work represents a development which has far-reaching implications for ideas on the nature of kingship and nationhood.

In terms of literary technique, Fortunatus is not working to a rhetorical formula, as the variation in length and complexity shows. In this he is adapting the tradition not only to his own ethical views, and to the educational level and interests of his audience, but to the particular circumstances of each occasion. He is thus able to fulfill the traditional role of the panegyrist when necessary through development and simplification of the content of the poem, or alternatively to write a shorter encomium, blending in the motifs and images of rhetoric to give his praise and advice the weight and aura

of the Roman literary tradition. The poem to Charibert, and more especially that to Chilperic, are, however, constructed on the full scheme of the basilikos logos, interweaving traditional imperial motifs. Analysis of the poems in their contexts and their contents makes it clear that these poems should be regarded as panegyrics in the true sense. Corippus can write at length for a court devoted to elaborate ceremonial, where the nature and status of the emperor is filtered indirectly to the people through spectacle and formalised presentation. Fortunatus strips the genre down to its basic components to fulfill the same function within the Merovingian context, where the political issues are decided by direct, personal confrontation. In such a situation, the ceremonial is of less importance. What matters is what is said and how it is said, even though the message may, by Byzantine standards, be fairly blunt and conveyed in a fairly blunt fashion.

Though, as has been said, both Fortunatus' and Corippus' work contain the same light imagery (142), there is no indication in these poems that Fortunatus is influenced by Corippus. Motifs common to the two poets are also common to the general panegyric tradition. Fortunatus' technique is very different from that of Corippus. It might well be argued that Fortunatus is more truly a panegyric writer. He has developed the genre in a way very different from that pursued by the Byzantine poet. In the sense that panegyric is a dynamic, functional genre of writing, Fortunatus is exploring and extending the bounds of the genre, whilst remaining true to its essential intent, to a greater extent than Corippus, who merely reflects the developments of his predecessors, especially those of Claudian (143).

4. The gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia, Appendix 2

Soon after Fortunatus' arrival in Poitiers, negotiations were completed by Radegund with Byzantium and the relic of the True Cross, a gift from Justin II and Sophia, was installed in the convent with great ceremony (144). Radegund never forgot that she had been a queen (145). Though she technically played a subservient role in the convent, she displayed a royal ambition and breadth of vision in working to establish the status and security of the community. Baudonivia also records her as having an active concern for the political welfare and stability of the Merovingian kingdoms (146) and, in working for stability, she operated on an imaginative and international scale. The interests of the convent and of the kingdom of Sigibert, which included Poitiers at this time, coincided with this contact with the East. Radegund wished to acquire prestigious relics as a focus for the community. At the same time, as her step-son Sigibert gained authority over Poitiers on the death of Charibert in late 567 or early 568, diplomatic contact with Byzantium could be seen as strengthening his position. The king's marriage to Brunhild gave him an alliance in the West. The envoys he sent to Justin at a slightly later date show his interest in diplomatic ties in the East. This interest coincided with the political will of Justin II to establish ties with the Franks, as obvious catholic allies for Byzantium in the West (147).

Radegund's and Sigibert's interests, therefore, coincided in the embassy sent with Sigibert's backing to Byzantium to request relics for the community at Poitiers. At the same time Radegund appealed to

her cousin Amalafrid in Byzantium, in a verse letter written for her by Fortunatus (148). Amalafrid had been there since 540 with his mother and was serving in the Byzantine army (149). The embassy was successful, returning with a fragment of the True Cross, set in a reliquary, together with other relics of the apostles and martyrs and a fine gospel book (150). Maroveus, Bishop of Poitiers, refused to celebrate the reception of the relics and, at Sigibert's request, the ceremony was performed by Eufronius of Tours (151). It was for this occasion that Fortunatus wrote his great hymns to the Cross and the poem of thanks on Rade Gund's behalf to Justin II and Sophia (152).

The poem belongs in all likelihood to 569. The words nova purpura in line 25 suggest a time near Justin's accession in 565 but Sigibert's authority over Poitiers did not begin until early 568. Rade Gund sent first to Sigibert and then the envoys would have taken some time on their journey (Sigibert's later embassy was away for over a year) (153). It therefore seems likely that the embassy could have left in 568, met with a little delay in Byzantium and returned in 569 (154). Rade Gund then sent Reovalis back to Byzantium with thanks to the emperor and empress - presumably Fortunatus' poem (155). The installation of the relics certainly antedates the death of Eufronius in 573 (156) but it is reasonable to suppose that the despatch of the poem of thanks came as soon as possible after the return of the envoys.

The context suggests strong political motivation behind the request. Fortunatus himself emphasises the religious motivation. The doctrinal context of the poem is the long and bitter division in the church over the question of the Three Chapters. This matter concerned

three church writers of the fifth century: Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyprus and Ibas of Edessa. The Monophysites attacked the Council of Chalcedon because, in spite of the Nestorianism of these three men, the Council had failed to condemn them as heretics. Justinian supported this onslaught with an edict of anathema against the three in the 540s. This imperial stance aroused fierce opposition, especially in the Western church, for three main reasons. The Western bishops feared that such a public edict eroded the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, whose resolutions they regarded as establishing and defining orthodoxy on the question of the Persons of the Trinity. Secondly they doubted whether dead men could be thus anathematised. Thirdly they resented such imperial intervention in church matters. The Fifth Ecumenical Council, held in 553 in the absence of Pope Vigilius, supported the emperor. The net result of the Council was the exile of the Pope and the disaffection of large areas of the Western church (157). The Gallic clergy would not associate themselves with the condemnation of the Three Chapters and, though they stayed in contact with the East, also remained in communion with schismatic bishoprics elsewhere. On his accession in 565, however, Justin II recalled exiled bishops and restored rights to the penalised partisans of the Three Chapters.

This context also supports a date of 569 for the poem to Justin II and Sophia. The reference in the poem to the recall of the exiles and the restoration of the rights of those penalised suggests that a year or so might well be allowed for this action to have taken place, and for confidence in Justin's orthodoxy to have been established in the disaffected churches of Gaul, before the emperor could be hailed so

explicitly as the champion of Chalcedon orthodoxy by a public voice from the West.

It is in this context that Fortunatus hails the emperor and empress as the champions of Chalcedon orthodoxy. Indeed the poem is addressed to the three Persons of the Trinity and the introductory ten lines trumpet out the credal propositions of the Council. Each of the two sections of the poem, the one directed to Justin (lines 11-50) and the second directed mainly to Sophia (lines 51 onwards) are structured round the significant triple repetition of a couplet commencing gloria summa which glorifies the Triune Deity (lines 1-2, 11-12, 21-22, 49-50, 61-62, 71-72).

After the initial glorification of the Trinity (lines 1-10), Fortunatus hails Justin in lines 11 to 20 as a true adherent of the true faith of the Roman world:

quam merito Romae Romanoque imperat orbi

qui sequitur quod ait dogma cathedra Petri

(lines 15-16)

(how deservedly does he rule over Rome and the

Roman world, who follows the doctrine pronounced

from Peter's seat).

It is interesting to note that the validity of Justin's rule is here represented as following from his defence of the doctrines of Rome, a comment bearing on the third of the objections mentioned above of the Western church to Justinian's edict on the Three Chapters. Fortunatus then repeats the gloria summa couplet for the third time (lines 21-22)

before praising Justin explicitly for his restoration of the authority of Chalcedon (lines 25-26). He speaks of the effect of Justin's justice both in the Western world of Gaul, Spain, Germany and Britain (lines 21-44), and in the more easterly parts of Italy and the areas of the North East, the Gallo-centred part of the West naturally receiving most of the emphasis. In a comment on the reconciliation of previously disaffected areas, the emperor is then praised for his restoration of exiles and for the release of prisoners (lines 39-44).

The couplet of refrain, repeated for the fourth time (lines 49-50), ends the address to Justin and introduces that to Sophia, who is praised for her gift of the precious relic to Radegund (lines 51-60). The gloria summa couplet is repeated (lines 61-62) and the royal couple likened to Constantine and Helena, a telling comparison in this context of a concern for the relationship between state and church and of the relic of the True Cross (lines 63-70).

A repeat of the refrain introduces the final section (lines 71 onwards) where Fortunatus hails the power of the relic of the Cross to strengthen Christian faith and praises the missionary work done by Sophia in the West through the despatch of this relic. He portrays Radegund prostrate in adoration and gives prayers for the emperor and empress.

This poem is presumably the tribute of thanks sent by Radegund through Reovalis to Byzantium (158). Though this is a formal address of praise to the royal couple, a gratiarum actio in the rhetorical tradition, the introduction makes it clear that the true focus of the poem lies beyond Justin and Sophia in the Persons of the Trinity. Praise is accorded to the couple insofar as their reign reflects

orthodox faith, rights the injustices done to the church, and spreads the gospel through the gift of this relic. But it is the two triple apostrophes to the Triune God which give the poem its formal structure and intensify the poem's focus. The sequence of the rhetorical topics of panegyric, the detail of personal worldly qualities and achievements, the praise merited by moral strength are all absent. Justin's and Sophia's merits reflect their obedience to God and to the church. Justin is a praiseworthy emperor because he commits himself to orthodoxy and therefore rights the wrongs perpetrated earlier. This justification of Justin in terms of his orthodoxy is underlined throughout the poem by a play on words in the second line of the gloria summa couplet:

qui das Iustinum iustus in orbe caput

(just God, you who give Justin as ruler of the world).

More explicitly the Christ-centred character of the emperor is stated in lines 15 and 16, already quoted, and in lines 35 and 36:

dat tibi Christus opem, tu Christo solvis honorem:

ille dedit culmen, reddis et ipse fidem.

(Christ gives you his succour, you pay honour to Christ:

he gave you your lofty position, you give in return
your faith to him).

The praise of Sophia, like that of Brunhild and Fredegund, is a reflection of the strength and power of the empress (159). Here she is

praiseworthy because, through her gift of the relic, she is a vehicle for the strengthening of Christian faith:

per te crux domini totum sibi vindicat orbem.

(line 73)

(through you the Lord's Cross ~~claims~~ for itself the whole world).

The acclaim given to the emperor and empress in lines 23 to 32, 39 to 46 and 75 to 84, is explicitly worldwide, from the rising to the setting of the sun, and is depicted on a more grandiose scale than the similar imperial consensus universorum Fortunatus accords the Merovingian kings (160). This indeed reflects the comparative power and magnificence of the Byzantine emperor. But, more than that, since the consensus is given to Justin because he is the true servant of Christ and the church, the poem is a celebration of the legitimacy of his rule in the sense of his orthodoxy, not in any political or secular sense. The rhetorical motif of imperial recognition is here used in a purely religious context. The grand scale reflects, not only a proper tribute to an emperor, but also the emphasis due in the gratiarum actio on behalf of a religious queen for a relic of major significance.

This is not a basilikos logos, devoted to the praise of a ruler. It is a gratiarum actio making evocative use of the rhetorical tradition and adapting it to the circumstances, as Ausonius did in his speech of thanks to Gratian. A relic of such value overshadows the earthly power and splendour even of the emperor and empress who are merely the means

whereby it is made available to Christians in the West and who, by their action, are characterised as heads of the orthodox catholic faith. This reconciliation and union of East and West is depicted as being brought about by a true vision of God's nature, an acceptance of orthodox faith which confirms Justin's position as emperor and brings him the praise and commendation of all people. The balance of emphasis stresses spiritual and doctrinal truths which a basilikos logos, with its focus on the human subject, would be unable to comprehend.

Fortunatus is using the full rhetorical tradition in his treatment of this subject but, in choosing the appropriate genre (as Ausonius did earlier) avoids any conflict between earthly and heavenly values. The high tone, the sonorous repetitions, the picture of world-wide acclaim are rhetorical in style and give the poem its formality and resonance. The structure and form of the poem, however, the threefold divisions, are derived from one of the main concerns of the poem, the doctrine of the Trinity, and reinforce its central significance.

The contemporary poem whose emphasis is also on Justin's orthodoxy is Corippus' In laudem Justinii minoris, written at the latest in 567 (161). Support is given for Justin's religious policies in this poem, especially in Book 4, which was added shortly after the composition of the first three books (162). The dating of Fortunatus' poem makes it possible for the poet to have written the trinitarian section of the gratiarum actio with the example of Corippus' credal paraphrase in front of him (163). However, as in the case of the suggested borrowing by Fortunatus of the light imagery motifs of Corippus (164), the central theme is so common a one that such a conclusion seems forced in the absence of any detailed parallels (165). The detailed working

of the theme in Fortunatus' poem is so unlike Corippus' treatment of it and is so integral to the overall design and the pattern of wording of the poem, that there is no evidence here of direct borrowing, however much we might suppose that Fortunatus was helped or inspired by a reading of Corippus' work. Nevertheless, there are verbal parallels between Corippus' lines to the Virgin Mary (In laudem Just. min. 2.52-69) and the Western poem In laudem Mariae, included among the works adjudged spurious in Leo's edition of Fortunatus. If, as seems likely (166), Fortunatus is indeed the author of this hymn of praise, this would be evidence of the influence of the one poet on the other. This influence can be seen in practical terms in the In laudem Mariae, but in the case of appendix 2 we can only suppose that, if Fortunatus had Corippus' poem in front of him, he gained from it only the insight into Justin's religious policies which directed his own trinitarian emphasis.

Fortunatus has, then, in this poem written a gratiarum actio which, like the four poems discussed already, offers a sensitive and skilful response to a situation. Like Ausonius in his gratiarum actio to Gratian, Fortunatus has adapted the form and content to carry out a particular task on a particular occasion. The conventional rhetorical imperial motifs of acclaim are used in recognition of the dignity and standing of the emperor and empress, an appropriate gesture from a nun who is still conscious that she is a queen (and whose success in gaining the relic may be due at least in part to that fact). But this spectacular rhetoric is subordinated to the praise of the Triune God, the truth of whose nature is upheld by this champion of orthodoxy, and the motifs of acclaim reflect this aspect of the emperor's rule,

lifting the expression of gratitude on to a plane of wider spiritual and catholic significance. The panegyric to Chilperic paralleled in Byzantine fashion the rule of the king to that of Christ. This poem sees the merits of a ruler purely in terms of his furtherance of the divine will. At the same time, though the motivation of the poem is overtly religious, Fortunatus is fulfilling an important political purpose. The panegyrics to the Merovingian kings complimented them by the suggestion of a shared culture. This poem, by its suggestion of a shared catholic orthodoxy, reinforces ties between the catholic emperor and the catholic Merovingian king, furthering the cause of stability in Sigibert's kingdom, which was also a strong motive behind Radegund's actions.

Fortunatus is thus, in this poem, playing a positive role in the international diplomatic relations between East and West. The poem speaks in the cultural idiom familiar to the Byzantine court, astutely reflecting political and religious preoccupations. The poem on Radegund's behalf to her cousin, Amalfrid, in Byzantium, may have contributed to the success of the original embassy in requesting the relic (167). This present poem may well also have contributed to the entente between the two realms and smoothed the way for developments in this policy and for Sigibert's later embassy to Tiberius.

CHAPTER FOUR

FORTUNATUS AND THE PANEGYRIC TRADITION:OTHER POEMS OF PRAISE

In the previous chapter Fortunatus' development of the panegyric tradition in poems of praise to Merovingian kings and to the Byzantine emperor was considered. Analysis of the five poems in question suggested that, in the more formal of the poems, Fortunatus maintained the rhetorical techniques and political function of panegyric, adapting the genre to enable himself to carry out the function of a panegyrist in the circumstances of the Merovingian court. In the less formal poems, many of the motifs and overtones of rhetoric, and of panegyric in particular, were present, complimenting the recipient by the implication of a shared culture, not only by what was said but also by the very fact that it was said by a Latin poet.

There are several other poems where analysis of Fortunatus' use of the rhetorical and panegyric tradition casts light on his poetic technique and on his role in Merovingian society. Four poems to bishops clearly belong to this tradition: the poems to Leontius of Bordeaux (Poem 1.15), to Gregory of Tours (Poem 5.3), to Martin of Braga (Poem 5.2), and to Felix of Nantes (Poem 3.8). Two poems show Fortunatus' work in applying the panegyric tradition to nobles in Sigibert's court: Poem 7.7 to Duke Lupus of Champagne and Poem 7.16 to

the domesticus Condan. Analysis of these poems in their historical context illustrates the poet's use and development of panegyric.

1. Poems to bishops

Fortunatus addressed four encomia of length and formal complexity to bishops: to Leontius of Bordeaux (Poem 1.15), to Gregory of Tours (Poem 5.3), to Martin of Braga (Poem 5.2) and to Felix of Nantes (Poem 3.8).

The longest and most elaborate of these is that addressed to Leontius of Bordeaux. The family of the Leontii is described by Fortunatus as being one of the most distinguished in Aquitaine. Prosopographers have sought to link the family of the sixth century with earlier people of that name, tracing with a degree of probability a connection with the Pontius Leontius who was a contemporary of Sidonius Apollinaris and, with less probability, with the Ruricii and the Anicii (1). The family produced two earlier bishops of Bordeaux: Amelius and Leontius I, in all probability the father of Leontius II, Fortunatus' patron (2). Leontius II was married to Placidina, whose ancestry is better known and even more distinguished than her husband's. She was related both to Sidonius Apollinaris and to the Emperor Avitus (3).

The younger Leontius had, as a young man, accompanied Childbert I on his campaign against the Visigoths in 531 (4). He is portrayed as regum summus amor (5) and appears to have held a powerful position in Childbert's court. By 549 he was Bishop of Bordeaux, his name appearing among the signatories to the canons of the Fifth Council of

Orleans that year and to those of the two Councils of Paris in 552 and at some time before 573 (6). But the influence which Leontius had with Childebert does not seem to have continued with Lothar and Charibert. At some time between 563 and 567 the bishop was involved in a bitter dispute with Charibert over jurisdiction in the city of Saintes, the bishop losing and being fined 1,000 gold pieces (7). But in spite of this loss of influence at court, Leontius clearly continued to have ambitions for himself and his See which are reflected in Fortunatus' poems to him. As has been said (8), Bordeaux was a city very conscious of its long tradition as a centre of Roman culture and influence. This characteristic was reflected in its bishop, as Fortunatus makes clear (9), Leontius being engaged in extensive building projects, in which Placidina was actively involved (10).

The eulogy to this energetic aristocrat is written in the lofty and traditional style appropriate to a Gallo-Roman and a Metropolitan Bishop. The full conventional structure of a panegyric sets out the splendour of his lineage, his person and his achievements. The introductory lines (1-4) celebrate his fatherland and high ancestry in no uncertain terms:

tu potior reliquis et tibi nemo prior

(line 4)

(you are more powerful than anyone else,
none is higher than you),

and line one introduces the light imagery found in the basilikos logos. The next section speaks of his personal eminence and of his

excellent military record, a topic in the panegyric tradition but unusual in the case of a bishop. The reference is out of the usual order probably because this is an aspect of Leontius' life which, though noteworthy, is inappropriate to the main section of praise of his ecclesiastical prominence (lines 5-14). Fortunatus then dwells at length on the nobility of his family, stressing their long history, their ancestral home (which Leontius, with characteristic vigour, has restored - lines 19-20), their eminence and royal connections (lines 15-30). This thought bridges the move to the next section:

ecclesiae nunc iura regis, venerande sacerdos,
altera nobilitas additur inde tibi.

(lines 31-32)

(now you administer the church's jurisdiction,
reverend priest: a second nobility is thus added to you).

The comment is interesting in the light of Leontius' fairly recent failure to maintain that jurisdiction in Saintes. The setback had presumably not made Leontius change his autocratic views. Fortunatus tactfully notes Leontius' earlier influence in royal circles (line 30) but consoles him with the superiority of his present position. The word regis makes this point strongly. In Fortunatus' royal encomia the king is presented as having episcopal traits as a father to his people, a focal point of the church and a champion of orthodoxy. Here, in complementary fashion, the bishop is represented as ruler over his people, and as having supreme jurisdiction.

Consideration of the bishop's role in the community reveals him as

being the focal point of a city, arbiter in practical and secular as well as in ecclesiastical matters (11). Elsewhere Fortunatus' portrait of a bishop carries out this idea of a regal presence, with military overtones paralleling the church militant with a king's military power. In the description of Bishop Germanus of Paris (Poem 2.9), Fortunatus uses the rhetorical technique of ekphrasis to portray the bishop flanked by his clergy. Germanus rules (regit) and his clergy are like his soldiers (lines 27-30). The parallel between the secular and ecclesiastical world is carried to its full extent in the address to Leontius. The bishop is at the pinnacle of ecclesiastical power and to exercise such power is to rule. The light imagery found in line 1 is echoed throughout the poem (lines 1, 23-24, of Leontius; see also lines 38, 43, 46, 48-52, 57-59) and reinforces the regal reference.

The poem then continues with a catalogue of Leontius' ecclesiastical achievements, the section in the basilikos logos usually reserved for the ruler's deeds in peace and war. Lines 31-108 stress the bishop's devotion to the aula dei (line 35), the ecclesiastical parallel to his secular work for his aula parentum (line 19) and one which offers him eternal hope. The poet catalogues his programme of rebuilding, of restoration after a fire, of the building of a baptistery, of the church of St. Mary, the churches of St. Vincent and St. Eutropius at Saintes, all of which are to the spiritual benefit of the people and to the glory of Bordeaux (12). The emphasis here on Saintes suggests, accurately or otherwise, that Leontius' authority in that city is restored after the earlier contretemps. Leontius' presence is felt everywhere in the city and the people applaud (lines 39-60). The suggestion here of the consensus of

the people, recognising the bishop's authority (13) adds further regal overtones to this portrait. Leontius' supremacy over his own See and the fact that it offers allegiance to him alone is also stressed by the description of him as Metropolitan (lines 67-70) and of his See as his patria (line 67). This local pride is reinforced by the rhetorical *ὑπερβόλις* with other rivers inferior to the Garonne - the Rhine and the Po, though the Danube is conceded to be as long. The dramatic description of the devastating fire, which has merely given Leontius the opportunity to shine more resplendently through his work of restoration, is heightened by the verbal echo of Claudian (14).

Fortunatus then turns his attention to Leontius' gifts of church vessels, a work which ensures him an everlasting reward, the sentiment being reinforced by words echoing the New Testament advice to lay up only treasures of only heavenly value (lines 83-86) (15). Tribute is paid to Placidina (lines 93-108), as Fortunatus praised Fredegund in the panegyric to her husband (16). Placidina too is praised for her illustrious ancestry in terms which specify her imperial ancestor. The glory of this connection reflects on Leontius and imperial blood flows in their children's veins (line 100). Her eloquence and many other virtues make her an ornament to her sex (lines 105-106). The poem ends with a brief prayer for God's blessing.

The traditional rhetorical structure of a panegyric stands out clearly in this poem: race and fatherland (lines 1-6), birth and early years (lines 7-14), ancestors and immediate family (lines 15-30), deeds and virtues (lines 31-92, including the *ὑπερβόλις*), epilogue (lines 109-110). The apostrophe of Placidina is inserted in lines 95 to 108 and also mentions, in order, her ancestry and immediate family

(lines 95-100) and her virtues (lines 101-108) (17).

The poem is a deliberate and overt extension of the basilikos logos to praise a prince of the church. The initial emphasis on secular status gives way to glorification of the spiritual, eternal merits of Leontius' place in the church, as his work to build and restore his aula parentum is transcended by his work in building to the glory of God.

Buildings are prominent, not as the traditional symbolic backcloth for the ceremonial in which panegyric is proclaimed, but as proclaiming a certain earthly status or worldly power. In a part of the country which had enjoyed a precarious peace in times which devastated other areas, these buildings must have been an impressive demonstration of the church's wealth and power and of the protection these afforded the people. In a sense, this power was the more securely based for being ecclesiastical: the eternal and supernatural dimension of Leontius' status, of the work he carried out, and of the benefit the people derived from it, put it beyond the reach of worldly threats, as lines 83 to 84 stress. The image of the bishop is thus of one who transcends earthly powers because of the eternal merit of what he does and is.

There is a strong strand of visual imagery in this poem. The light motif common in imperial panegyric is applied both to Leontius and his buildings. Lines 1 and 23 to 24 apply this motif to Leontius himself. The imagery of light and brilliance used in reference to his buildings (lines 38, 43, 46, 48-52, 57-59) is a natural and frequent comment on splendid new buildings, especially those with windows and embellishments of precious metal (19). This literal beauty of light is

however extended explicitly in the religious symbolism of lines 57-58. The poem links the motif of light with royal splendour. The secular regal magnificence of wealth is transferred implicitly to sacred buildings and vessels, the image of regal strength and towering eminence is transferred to Leontius' ecclesiastical supremacy, the king's protection of his people becomes the bishop's provision of what is needed to guide his people to eternal life (lines 61-62).

The emphasis on Leontius' lineage, the consciousness of his Gallo-Roman ancestry and that of Placidina, is found also in the other poems to him. The three poems on his villas (Poems 1.18-20) portray a similar energy and enthusiasm for building, in this case in the role of the traditional landed Roman country gentleman. The hymn to Leontius (Poem 1.16) and his epitaph (Poem 4.10) round off this portrait. These poems will be discussed at a later point (20).

The image here is that of a proud, sophisticated Gallo-Roman of great wealth and power. The poem is couched in the form of a true panegyric but the sole object of the poem is to praise the bishop for the qualities he prides himself on. There is no sense of mediation - his people receive only the barest mention - and if they are present at all (which seems unlikely) they are kept at a distance. The only mediation is, like that of the Cabots, between Leontius and his God, the only Being with power greater than his (line 67ff).

Leontius' expression of his pastoral care is in terms of regal power and authority. The contrast with the address to Gregory in Poem 5.3 is illuminating. There, as will be seen, Gregory is presented as pater and his pastoral care evokes images of tending sheep and vineyards. That poem is also a declamation at an adventus ceremony, actively

seeking the consensus of the people in support of the bishop.

Interestingly, the consensus giving Leontius support, referred to in so descriptive a manner in Poem 1.15, is invoked, not in the panegyric, but, if at all, in the Hymnus de Leontio Episcopo (Poem 1.16). A would-be usurper, filled with most un-episcopal ambitio (lines 33-36), had spread the rumour that Leontius was dead and made a bid for the position. He was evicted on Leontius' re-appearance and this hymn written, apparently in celebration of the foiling of the plot. The hymn rallies the citizens to support the bishop:

Venite cives, plaudite
et vota votis addite:
quo facta sunt miracula,
servent eum caelestia.

(lines 77-80)

(Come, citizens, applaud and add prayer upon prayer:
may the heavens preserve him ^{by} whom miracles are wrought).

In form the poem is an abecedarian arrangement of ambrosian strophes, a form which Augustine adopted for his Psalmus contra partem Donati and which derives from semitic battlesongs. Augustine explained that he wished to write verses which would rally the people and make an impact on the popular mind. His battlecry against heresy was imitated, for example, in the anti-Arian Psalm of Fulgentius of Ruspe. These connotations of aggressive orthodoxy must lie behind Fortunatus' choice of this form of strophe. Leontius is thus represented as the champion of orthodoxy, vigorously combating heresy, the form of the poem as

well as the content thus condemning the bishop's opponents. Gregory carefully canvasses the consensus of the people. Leontius, on the other hand, assertively represents himself as the defender of the church in a great tradition, all who choose not to follow him being damned for their wrong thinking. This attitude is very different from anything which emerges from Fortunatus' poems for the bishop of Tours. Leontius hardly needs a panegyrist to speak for him to the people. Poem 1.15 is a purely literary exercise. But the bishop values his Romanitas. Such an address must have set a literary seal upon his achievements, with its studied formality, its allusive compliments and the tribute implicit in the form and imagery of the basilikos logos that he is thus one in a line of great Romans who have been so addressed - and, indeed, is superior to them in that their power was worldly and transient. But for all its correct form, there is none of the complex imagery, the tension and persuasive subtlety that there is in the panegyrics to Charibert and Chilperic, which are working examples of the genre. The literary panegyric is static by comparison with these declamations, which have a practical and dynamic function. This poem again demonstrates Fortunatus' versatility, his ability to adapt the genre to a particular person and situation. The stiff Roman dignity belongs entirely to Leontius.

The second - and strongly contrasting - poem to a bishop is that presenting the new bishop of Tours, Gregory, to his people (Poem 5.3). Gregory had been brought up by Bishop Avitus in Clermont-Ferrand and came from a long-established and illustrious Gallo-Roman family of senatorial status in the Auvergne (22). Appointed with the approval of

Sigibert and Brunhild and consecrated by Bishop Igidius of Reims, Gregory entered Tours as its new bishop on August 28th, 573.

In Tours, unlike Bordeaux, there was considerable tension between local secular and ecclesiastical authorities. On the death of Charibert, Tours was part of the lands inherited by Sigibert, but was taken by Chilperic's son, Theudebert, soon after Gregory's accession. On Theudebert's advice and against his own better judgement, Gregory reappointed as count Leudast, who had lost the post under Sigibert. Leudast was removed again when Sigibert recaptured the city, only to appear again on Sigibert's death full of active malice against Gregory and behaving outrageously. As in the case of the attempted coup in Bordeaux, a would-be bishop, the priest Riculf, was hovering ready to take advantage of Leudast's plotting, using Gregory's Auvergnian background to suggest that he was an outsider (23). Gregory survived the plot only with difficulty. Such plots against bishops were not uncommon, as is shown by the examples of those against Leontius, Theodore of Marseilles (24) and Chartericus of Périgueux (25). The situation in Tours was complicated further by the habit of Chilperic's eldest son, Merovech, of bolting to sanctuary in the church of St. Martin (26), with the result on the second occasion that the countryside far and wide round Tours was devastated.

The ceremony of adventus had already been adapted by the church to celebrate the arrival of bishops and the consensus of his citizens was of real relevance to the security of a bishop's tenure of office (27). In the circumstances in Tours in 573, however, the conventional appeal for the support of the citizens might well have had more than ordinary significance.

A dramatic summons calls for the people's attention - plaudite -, heralding the bishop's arrival. Fortunatus asks for the acclaim of every sector of the community - young and old alike (lines 1-4). The crowd welcoming Guntram in Orleans offered the king their acclamation and consensus, each in his own tongue - Syrians, Romans and Jews (28). Here we may imagine the crowd gathered in formal groups to show their consensus for the new bishop's reign. Fortunatus then *speaks of* Gregory to his people, with a play on his name:

nomine Gregorius, pastor in urbe gregis,

(line 10)

(called Gregory, shepherd of the city flock),

which provides the central image to characterise the presentation of Gregory throughout the poem (29).

Gregory came from an ancient and illustrious family. Yet there is no mention of his worldly origins. Strong emphasis was placed in the poem to Leontius both on his aristocratic family and on his spiritual status and the ecclesiastical worth of his work. Yet that portrayal, especially as it was made in the context of Leontius' attempt to assert his position as Metropolitan and impose his wishes, rather than the king's, in the Bordeaux area, almost carries the suggestion that Leontius' main interest was in the supremacy the position offered him. The first thirty lines establish him as a powerful member of an old aristocratic family, a portrait which is reinforced by the presentation of Placidina and her imperial connections. The fact that his family also, like Gregory's, had a tradition of holding high

office in the church is not mentioned. The aristocratic and royal background is the one of greater significance to the couple. Indeed one fact for congratulation is that this royal inheritance has passed down to their children (100). The core of the second nobilitas Leontius has won, his bishopric, is quantified in the terms that "ecclesiae nunc iura regis" (line 31). This double aristocracy and its attendant power are central to Leontius' image.

In striking contrast there is no mention whatsoever of Gregory's aristocratic lineage, though, like Leontius, he had forebears who could be mentioned with pride. Instead, in the following section of the poem, where there would usually be an account of the person's family, Fortunatus gives the bishop's spiritual referees. Coming from Clermont, Gregory is introduced in the See of St. Martin as the protégé of the great Auvergnian saint, Julian, a friendly gift from one saintly brother to another (lines 11-12) (30). The new bishop has been consecrated by Bishop Igidius of Rheims and has the loving support of Radegund. He also has the approval of Sigibert and Brunhild (31)

Gregory has just become bishop. Fortunatus cannot therefore speak of his achievements in this sphere. Instead, as Claudian did with Honorius (22), he eulogises the bishop in prospect, holding out the vision of the loving care and protection Gregory will afford his flock (lines 17-34). There is a wealth of familiar biblical imagery: the shepherd and his sheep (lines 17-24), the cultivation of the vineyard (lines 25-26), the streams of living water (line 28), the story of Dives and Lazarus (lines 29-32) and the parable of the talents (lines 33-34). Scenes from the New Testament are a common

subject of frescoes and church art generally at this time (33). The frescoes decorating the church of St. Martin of Tours commissioned by Gregory and described by Fortunatus (34) had not yet been painted. But it is likely that Fortunatus is referring to scenes which were familiar to his audience not only verbally but through the medium of the visual arts. The next section before the final prayer (lines 41-44) envisages apostles and saints clustering around, a typical panegyric technique and one which may also have brought to his listeners' minds the tableaux groupings familiar in Merovingian as in Roman and Greek ecclesiastical art (35).

The contrast with the panegyric to Leontius is striking. The one bishop is aloof and regal, concerned more with buildings than with people. The other is a hard-working shepherd of his sheep. The panegyric to Leontius is formally complete, a literary tribute to a Gallo-Roman intended for his personal appreciation. The address to Gregory takes place at an adventus ceremony, and has the basic structure of a panegyric: the topics of the exordium and welcome, the bishop's antecedents, his qualities, and finally an epilogue. The poem refers to the different sections of the assembled people, it echoes common visual representations of New Testament scenes, it presents a tableau of apostles and saints. In contrast to the literary panegyric to Leontius, the address at Tours does not even speak to Gregory directly but only to the people as the vital focus of Gregory's concern. Moreover the presentation is simple and direct. It does not rely on subtle verbal compliments but aims at creating an atmosphere of confidence by the mention of familiar and venerated names, evoking feelings of trust and care through visual and verbal allusion to

biblical themes and to the great figures of church history. The panegyric to Charibert, spoken in the presence of the Parisians, was likewise concerned to allay fears and offer guarantees of the king's good intentions in the current political situation. That poem was more complex dramatically and verbally and so presented a more complex message than the simple affirmation of care and concern Fortunatus wants to make here on Gregory's behalf to the people of Tours.

Fortunatus is again selecting and modifying the elements of panegyric to suit his audience and occasion. Here the poem is written for public declamation; it offers an ecclesiastical variant on the family-and-background topic, and relies heavily on biblical allusion to make its full emotional impact. It is brief, and its reliance on visual rather than linguistic allusion perhaps makes it more suitable for popular consumption. The visual allusions themselves are on a level familiar to the people, like the parables they mostly represent. The more abstruse type of visual reference, such as to a coin with a winged Victory, would be out of place here (36). The poem represents Gregory and his chosen style as a shepherd of his people as clearly as Poem 1.15 for Leontius presents a very different character and view of the role of bishop. The genre gives Fortunatus a core of motifs and a structure to adapt to very different characters and it can be used for very different purposes.

Martin of Braga, to whom the third encomium (Poem 5.2) was written, was also a bishop with a strong pastoral concern for his people. He was a Pannonian, born perhaps about 515, who travelled first in the East and then came to Galicia. There he founded the monastery at

Dumium before becoming Archbishop of Braga, the capital of the Suevian kings, from 556 until his death in 579 (37). During his time among the Suevi, he completed the conversion of the king and the people to Catholicism. The canons of the First Council of Braga in 561 signalled the completion and recognition of this work by making obligatory the regulations for the daily offices, the observation of Easter, baptismal rites and so on, which Pope Vigilius had sent in response to a request from the earlier bishop of Braga, Profuturus, on June 29th, 538. Martin was a well educated and widely read author. He knew and taught Greek. His De correctione rusticorum was known in Noyon and Rouen in the late seventh century, as it was earlier in Burgundy (38).

Connections between Gaul and Galicia were strong, especially along the trading routes between the Galician coast and the estuaries of the Loire and the Garonne. Gregory of Tours is well informed of events there and notes Martin's particular connection with the city of Tours (39).

It was to this bishop, with his formidable record of evangelism and church administration and innovation, that Fortunatus addressed a letter (Poem 5.1) and verses (Poem 5.2). The letter was written in response to one from Martin (Poem 5.1.2), which had praised Fortunatus' learning (sect. 7). It seems natural to take the two together and to see the occasion as being connected with Radegund's and Agnes' adoption of the Rule of Caesarius for their community (Poem 5.2.67-70), a subject on which they may well have asked for Martin's advice and support. In Poem 5.2 Fortunatus makes specific reference to Caesarius, bringing out the fact that he, like Martin himself, was both bishop and monk (Poem 5.2.69-70). In these circumstances the

eulogy is certainly a *verse epistle* and not declaimed personally by the poet (40).

The poem begins with the dramatic visual image of the rays of the gospel truth spreading forth from the central point of Rome, the focus of the orthodoxy Martin had fought for. The light is that of the New Testament, of Christ who is the light of the world, not that of imperial panegyric. It is *lumen apostolicum*, firmly associated with the Trinitarian deity of Catholicism (line 1), which Martin had defended against the heretical Arian views on the nature of God, a *lux sementiva* which banishes the darkness and creates the light of faith. The metaphor of *lux sementiva* (line 3) is continued by the agricultural images of growth (41) and the effects of life and warmth which portray the great missionary expansion of the church (lines 7-14), an expansion which starts with the evangelistic work of Peter himself in Rome and ends with the work of Martin of Tours in Gaul (lines 15-16). Mention of this Martin offers a natural transition to the second Martin, also a Pannonian. Galicia (line 17) echoes Gallia (line 15) to emphasise the similarity.

In an apostrophe to Galicia, which is repeated later almost as a refrain (lines 17-18, 43-44), Martin is hailed as a true successor to the apostles and evangelists (lines 19-20) (42). Obviously the call to Galicia to applaud does not have the same practical intent as the summons to the citizens of Tours. But the same panegyric motif of public acclaim and recognition strengthens the image of Martin as a great man, widely accepted as such. Fortunatus then gives an account of the bishop's life and works (lines 21-58); his journey from Pannonia to Suevia, his missionary zeal and his victory over heresy.

The farming imagery of the first section is continued with the more specifically biblical metaphors of seed on fertile ground (lines 23-24), the life-giving dew of Elijah (lines 25-26), the olive tree bearing fruit (lines 29-30), the barren fig tree (lines 33-34), and the worker going through the vineyard to prune away all that is unproductive (lines 37-42). A repetition of the refrain renews the focus on Martin's work and Fortunatus then brings in the imagery of the shepherd and his sheep and the parable of the talents before acclaiming Martin's sure reward in heaven (lines 45-60). The poem ends with a commendation of himself and of Radegund and Agnes, with a reference to the nuns' adoption of the Rule of Caesarius.

The image of Martin created in the poem is that of a vigorous and evangelistic bishop, a man who has worked hard and successfully to establish orthodoxy and to organise his province, a man whose interests stretch even to the foundation of Radegund's community in Poitiers and the building of the church of St. Martin in Tours. The tone of the poem is one of veneration for a figure whose work ranks with that of the great apostles and missionaries and is in direct line of succession from them. There is no precise detail of his background or achievements. Before the commendations at the end, the only address is to Galicia to witness his work - a distant and impersonal apostrophe.

Though there are rhetorical motifs, any formal rhetorical structure, such as there would be in a version of the *basilikos logos*, is lacking. The poem begins with the strong visual impact of a tableaux array of apostles and missionaries, similar to that at the end of the poem to Gregory (Poem 5.3.35-40). Martin is then characterised by a series of evocations of biblical themes for

pastoral care, framed and focused by the repetition of the couplet addressing Galicia. These New Testament allusions pick up and reinforce the apostolic aura of the introduction. The poem is concluded with the respectful request that this fatherly care be extended to the community at Poitiers, a request which has a strong visual aspect:

unde inlustre caput cingas diademate pulchro

(line 73)

(thence may you encircle your glorious head with
a splendid diadem).

The level of generality of the imagery, as well as the worldwide and even otherworldly perspective given at the start of the poem, stem from the fact that the poem does not grapple with the presence of the subject or with particular circumstances in a way that the panegyrics to Leontius or to Gregory do. The panegyric to Gregory does, indeed, make use of the same imagery for pastoral care, but the allusions are shorter and very much designed to reassure the people of Tours. The spiritual pedigree of Gregory has the rhetorical function of establishing his credentials as bishop, as a family tree does secular status. By contrast, the array of apostles and evangelists who precede Martin are a measure of his greatness, a reference point which identifies his stature. Moreover, there is a sense of immediacy, even urgency, in the panegyric to Gregory, a sense that this is a hopeful beginning of a new pontificate in troubled times. Martin's work is virtually completed. All that remains is to proclaim his heavenly

reward. The panegyric of the basilikos logos is a functional genre. In addressing Martin, none of the functions of mediation, interpretation of circumstances, or persuasion are present: they would not be relevant. And the flattery implicit purely in the use of the genre, though appropriate to Leontius, is not thought appropriate to Martin. The overtones of the poem are in the biblical tradition, the roots of Martin's work, not in the classical imperial tradition which echoes Leontius' proud and consciously Roman lineage.

So the poem is not an adventus address, nor any form of basilikos logos. Yet it does have a complex and careful structure, as well as the dignity of rhetorical motifs and phrases, and the resonance of names and allusions. It is an encomium, a gratiarum actio, like that to Justin and Sophia, structured appropriately to thank and praise Martin for his interest in the community in Poitiers.

The fourth encomium, Poem 3.8, is one of several poems to Bishop Felix of Nantes. Felix, like Leontius, was a Gallo-Roman bishop of ancient and wealthy Aquitanian family, with an interest in literature (43). Fortunatus' letter to Felix (Poem 3.4) pays him elaborate compliments on his literary style and implies that he is sufficiently learned to understand Greek (sect. 13), an accomplishment Fortunatus is tactful enough not to put to the test. Besides the poems Ex nomine suo (Poem 3.5) and De Pascha (Poem 3.9), there are also poems in honour of the church he built, the relics it contains, its paintings, and its striking and unusual architectural details (Poems 3.6 and 3.7) (44).

Felix' pastoral care for his people, as well as offering the more conventional protection, took in addition the practical and vigorous

form of fighting off the Bretons (45). The Bretons had immigrated into Armorica in the fifth and sixth centuries, bringing with them the language and traditions of their native land, the Devon-Cornish peninsula, as well as the customs of the Celtic church (46). They formed a community which was not integrated by language or custom with the surrounding country. Outside the areas centred on the "Roman" bishoprics of Rennes, Vannes and Nantes, for example, Breton was spoken (47). These three cities were the perpetual targets of Breton raiding parties, the Bretons formally accepting Frankish overlordship on several occasions from the time of Clovis' death, but as often breaking their word and devastating the area of the lower Loire. At the same time the tribes were torn by internal warfare into which the Frankish and Gallo-Roman authorities were drawn. Felix himself had earlier, around 552, saved the Breton chief, Macliaw, from prison and from certain death at the hands of his brother, Chanao (48). Macliaw accepted the sanctuary offered by the Franks, adapting himself so successfully that he became Bishop of Vannes. But on the death of his brother, he immediately deserted his see, having used it as a convenient but temporary refuge, and went back to take over Chanao's kingdom (49). Felix was then one of the bishops present at the Council of Tours in 567 which drew up firm guidelines for appointments to bishoprics in Armorica (50). The sense is strong, both in the wording of the canons of that council and in Fortunatus' poems to Felix, that Brittani and Romani are clearly distinct peoples, and that Armorica is the end of the Roman world (51). Felix represents the maintenance of the Roman tradition, of the civilised world, on this frontier (52).

Felix' work as bishop therefore extended far beyond the normal

remit for a colleague in a more settled see. The native kings were considered officially as the local comites (53) and of necessity the bishop would be involved with them in carrying out the daily administration of his responsibilities to the people. But, from the nature of the territory, this contact more often took the form of repelling raiding parties or intervening in tribal feuds, than in the more usual peaceful business with the local comes. Felix appears to have acted as royal envoy in negotiations with the Bretons (54), probably on the instructions of Charibert or Chilperic. This involvement is seen by Fortunatus as reflecting the bishop's protection of his flock (55) and is also evidenced by the formal church decisions about dealing with the Bretons in the council which Felix attended in Tours. Felix is probably acting also as negotiator as well as evangelist in dealing with Saxons (possibly Saxon pirates), when Fortunatus praises him for the conversion of Saxons from brutes into sheep, presumably with the implication that the sheep are in a Christian fold (56).

Felix seems to have been on good terms with Poitiers and Tours at the time at which Fortunatus was writing for him, around 567. He was one of the signatories of the bishops' letter of support for Radegund (57); and Eufronius of Tours, Felix' Metropolitan, was one of the bishops who attended the consecration of the cathedral of Nantes (58). Later, however, he was in conflict with Gregory, accusing Gregory's brother of murder (59) and supporting the rebellious priest, Riculf, when Gregory was charged with treason in 580 (60). Gregory returned this antipathy, never visiting Nantes during Felix' lifetime and blocking the succession of Felix' nephew, Burgundio, when the bishop

was on his deathbed. The bishop died, aged seventy, on January 6th, 582 (61).

The eulogy of Felix (Poem 3.8) may be dated to 567/8, the date of the completion of the cathedral of Nantes (62), the dedication of which Fortunatus attended (63). The poem begins with a celebration of the occasion, the festiva dies, in all likelihood the anniversary of Felix' consecration as bishop, his natalicium (64). Fortunatus represents himself as addressing the bishop on behalf of the people in panegyric fashion (line 2). The next eight lines celebrate Felix' dazzling splendour, which rivals the rising sun of the East in its glory. The light imagery, the motifs of the extent of the subject's fame, are familiar motifs in imperial panegyric, and their use has been discussed already. For Felix, as for Leontius (65), Fortunatus uses the light imagery for a prince of the church. The East-West motif here, though, is not the consensus image applied to the kings, but an intensification of the solar imagery with the ecclesiastical and biblical connotations already noted in the poem to Martin of Braga (Poem 5.2).

Following the normal sequence of topics, Fortunatus goes on to praise Felix' noble ancestors and their part in the history of Aquitaine (lines 11-14). Felix is then commended for his virtues and achievements, for his care and guidance of his country, his learning and eloquence, and his justice. Note is made of his Romanitas: in Felix, Rome lives anew (line 20). Like Leontius, he has worldly greatness but

ecclesiam nunc spe nobiliore regis

(line 26)

(now with finer hope, you rule the church).

As in the panegyric to Leontius, not only the regal motifs of the basilikos logos are transferred to the bishop, but he is spoken of as ruling, and as having jurisdiction.

Fortunatus then speaks of the bishop's spiritual union with his church and his care for the church's children, his people (lines 27-38). Placidina was eulogised in the panegyric to Leontius, as Brunhild and Fredegund were in the declamations to their husbands. But Placidina seems to have acquiesced happily in her husband's obedience to the dictates of church authority, which urged the separation of man and wife among the higher clergy and their devotion to a celibate life (66). For this Fortunatus congratulates them (Poem 1.15.93-94). Felix' wife was less accommodating. Gregory notes that she could only imagine that the bishop was refusing to sleep with her because of another woman, and records her eventual discomfiture with satisfaction (67). Here, Fortunatus, following Gregory, makes a neat adaptation of the opportunity offered by the topos to compliment Felix on his celibacy and devotion to the church. The bishop is then represented as protecting his church and people against the Bretons, like a shepherd fighting off wolves from his flock (lines 39-42), a metaphor which no doubt had the appropriate chilling ring of reality to it. He is generous and charitable to all in need (lines 43-46) and will receive his due reward for this (lines 47-48). The poem ends with a short prayer.

The impression given of Felix is of a man from the same background as Leontius and with very much the same interests and idea of his role. But his concern for his people seems to be more lively and positive. He is clearly a fighting man, unlike Leontius who appears to have ended his military career with his expedition to Spain. A fighting bishop is nothing of a contradiction in the Merovingian world, though the alcoholic and destructive Sagittarius and Salonius go too far even for the Franks (68).

The encomium does not actively involve the people or invoke their support, though Fortunatus is nominally speaking on their behalf. Meyer is unwilling to accept Ebert's identification of this as a panegyric proper (69). His argument seems based on a misidentification of lines 27 to 38 as a celebration of the occasion, a topic which would indeed be out of place. But if this passage is taken, as has been suggested, as a clever adaptation of the section otherwise devoted to the virtues of a bishop's wife, the topics are in their proper order.

The structure is then basically that of a panegyric - introduction and comment on the occasion, the subject's family, his deeds and virtues, and finally an epilogue. The reference to the poet speaking on behalf of the people (line 2) would suggest that the poem was declaimed. As with the panegyric to Gregory, the circumstances perhaps made it appropriate for Fortunatus to present only a short address. Felix himself certainly had the literary taste for something longer and more complex (70).

As was seen in the discussion of the panegyrics to Merovingian kings, Fortunatus creates a quasi-sacerdotal image of the king's role (71). The king gives loving care and protection to his people in their spiritual and in their material needs; he is the focus of his church and bishops; he is, like Melchisedech, the priestly ruler and is even portrayed as ruling on earth as Christ does in heaven. In complementary fashion, the bishops are given many of the attributes of the king. There is no doubt that the bishops had great - and, at times, complete - control over the spiritual and material welfare of the people in their sees (72). The power wielded by a Metropolitan with his suffragan bishops, with jurisdiction over matters of property, life, peace and war, could well be compared with the secular power of a king. The motifs - the solar imagery, the noble lineage, the virtuous deeds - and the structure of the basilikos logos are therefore appropriately enough applied to a bishop in Merovingian Gaul, especially to an aristocratic and autocratic bishop like Leontius. The bishop is praised for his government of the church as the king is for his deeds in peace and war in ruling his people. There is even a place for the strong character of the bishop's wife, as for the Merovingian queens - or for a neat adaptation of that topic.

The setting of the urban basilica and the presence of the clergy and people are used to the full as a visual backdrop for these panegyrics. The tableaux effects in the panegyric to Gregory and the gratiarum actio to Martin, more striking than in the royal panegyrics, may suggest a richer aesthetic source in ecclesiastical than in secular art, or one which Fortunatus more easily wove into his own verbal imagery.

The primary function of panegyric - that of praise with the object of mediation or interpretation - is one relevant on occasion to a bishop in the sixth century, especially in the circumstances in which Gregory finds himself. As was the case in several of the poems discussed earlier, panegyrics to bishops can also fulfill a secondary purpose of flattery by the very use of the genre. The Romanitas of Leontius and Felix is acknowledged by praise in this form from a Latin poet.

In all cases, the image of the bishop, whether created for his own pleasure or for public purposes, is distinctive and individual. The four bishops considered here emerge as vivid and distinctive characters, for each of whom a different emphasis, choice of motifs, and even of structure is appropriate in an eulogy. Fortunatus adapts the genre sensitively to meet circumstances, and these poems give further examples of his skill in reflecting character and characteristics.

2. Poems to nobles

As two further examples of Fortunatus' writing of encomia, we may consider two poems to secular nobles, the one to Duke Lupus of Champagne (Poem 7.7) and the other to the Merovingian domesticus, Condan (Poem 7.16).

The known biographical details of Lupus have already been discussed in Chapter Two, in a consideration of Poem 7.8. The particular context

and date of ~~Poem 7.7~~ are difficult to establish with any certainty. The vivid allusion to Lupus' part in the defeat of the Saxons and Danes (lines 49-60) suggests that the battle was recent. The victory may be connected with that referred to in the panegyric to Sigibert (Poem 6.1a.11), though there the conquered enemy are the Saxons and the Thuringians. Sigibert's victory cannot be dated or identified with any precision, however, and the Saxons were so constant a harrassment (73) that there is no need to suppose these two occasions necessarily the same. Poems 7.8 and 7.9 seem to be dated more reasonably to around 574, since they consider in retrospect Lupus' early patronage of Fortunatus (74). Poem 7.7, however, makes no such reference and may possibly have been written on the first occasion of Fortunatus' visit to Austrasia and his initial contact with Lupus, the poem being grouped with the other two by reason of the recipient, not by reason of the date. The poem also mentions Lupus' success in handling a diplomatic mission (lines 25-36), almost certainly the embassy to Marseilles mentioned by Gregory of Tours (75). The phrase legati adveniunt in line 25 does not necessarily imply that the embassy came to Lupus in Rheims and that this is not the Marseilles mission. Fortunatus is drawing a vivid picture of the scene when Lupus captivated the envoys with his eloquence. The phrase no more than introduces the picture - "the envoys approached". The reference to Marseilles is, however, given by Gregory in a flashback on the lurid history of the ambitious slave, Andarchius, and cannot be dated with certainty.

The poem also speaks of Lupus' recent arrival at court: te veniente novo (with your recent arrival) in line 67. This allusion may be taken

in conjunction with the reference in lines 39 to 42 to honours now given to Lupus as dux in line 6:

te duce sed nobis hic modo Roma redit

(but with you as dux Rome has just now been restored to us ^{here}).

The conclusion from these lines might well be that Lupus had recently been summoned to court, to be given some honour and high post, probably that of dux of Champagne. The title of dux was not a hereditary one at the Merovingian court. It was bestowed for merit or special services to the king and involved both military and judicial functions (76). So it might be suggested that this was the title so recently bestowed on Lupus, in recognition of his merits on the battlefield and in the king's diplomatic service. If that is so, there is special point to the comparison with the consuls of the Roman republic:

illis consulibus Romana potentia fulsit,

te duce sed nobis hic modo Roma redit

(lines 5-6)

(when they were consuls, Rome's power shone forth: but with you as dux Rome has just now been restored to us ^{here}).

In that case, modo, referring to this recent event, is taken up by the word novo in the later phrases amore novo (line 21) and te veniente novo (line 37). The line

quem ...

rex pius ornatum praedicat esse suum

(line 80)

(whom ... the goodly king declares is his glory),

may also refer to the appointment.

The poem certainly appears to celebrate Lupus' success in Sigibert's service, either at some date around 568 or later in 574. If the meaning of novus is taken literally, however, since we know that Lupus was in attendance at Sigibert's court in 567/8, the date may well be the earlier one.

The poem immediately invokes the spirit of ancient Rome, only to declare that Lupus has outstripped even the heroes of the Republic - Scipio, Cato and Pompey - in the virtues such champions exemplify. Lupus is sapiens, maturus (an epithet which perhaps suggests the earlier date for the poem if it is to be really flattering) and felix, and therefore excels them. The tribute in line 6 that with Lupus as dux Rome is reborn, recalls the similar praise of Felix (Poem 3.8.20). Both men are portrayed as embodiments of Roman virtue, restoring Roman culture and values by their character and achievements. The reference to the occasion is here, in the first ten lines, as it should be in the order of topics in a panegyric, though it is not made explicitly. The merits of ancient Rome are surpassed, everyone is filled with happiness, because Lupus is now dux and as such allows all to approach him to receive justice (te tribuente aditum, line 7).

Lines 7 to 19 speak of the qualities which led to this success - the qualities of eloquence and persuasive wisdom. It is interesting

that Fortunatus makes special mention of Lupus' ability to banish despondency in lines 9 to 10. This is by no means a stock attribute and echoes Fortunatus' tribute in the next poem to Lupus' cheering and inspiring effect on himself (77). Another point of interest in this passage lies in the lines:

qui geminis rebus fulges, in utroque paratus,

quicquid corde capis prodere lingua potest

(lines 17-18)

(you who shine in both matters, equally ready in either, your tongue can voice whatever you conceive in your heart)

The emphasis here is on eloquence. Geminis rebus could perhaps refer to Lupus' abilities in war and in peace. But only the qualities of peace have been mentioned so far. Fortunatus appears to be paying Lupus a compliment on his linguistic ability to judge and speak on both Roman and Frankish issues with equal competence, the compliment the poet later paid to Chilperic (Poem 9.1.91-94). By implication, he is also commending the successful fusion of the affairs of the two nations, an ideal he appeared to be urging in the two royal panegyrics.

The poem continues with a description of how Lupus has taken the weight of public cares from the king by his services (lines 19-24). Fortunatus explains the nature of these services. The first is the responsibility for the administration of justice and for diplomatic negotiations (lines 25-44). Lupus is praised for his success here (especially in lines 28 and 31). His work is here seen as involving

both skill and strength (line 32) and as being on behalf of the whole people (lines 30 and 34). The vitalising flow of the Nile illustrates the effect of Lupus' eloquence (lines 35-36): justice flourishes and Lupus is characterised as rector of justice (line 42).

Lines 45 to 48 bridge the transition from peaceful to martial qualities, line 45 renewing the motif of comparison with ancient Roman virtues. The next section is about his services on the battlefield. His contribution to the defeat of the Saxons and Danes is celebrated in detail (lines 49-60). Lines 61 to 64 bring the two aspects of success together, praising Lupus for his versatility in the service of the whole people (inter concives, line 61).

The final section is appropriate to a new member of the court circle, commending Lupus' presence as gracing the palace. The conventional imagery of light and brilliance points this compliment (78), applying to Lupus the light imagery Fortunatus also uses for bishops as well as for kings. The emphasis on the qualities of dulcedo and gratia and the epithet benignus stress the way in which Lupus fits easily and pleasantly into the king's circle. The poem concludes with the wish, ironic in view of the untimely assassination of Sigibert in 575, that Lupus may enjoy this prominence while the king reigns for ages to come.

The poem has many of the features of panegyric: the topics of the occasion, the virtues in peace and war, the achievements of the subject, and the epilogue. Light imagery is invoked in praise of the Duke. Lupus apparently has no ancestors worthy of note, since there is no comment, except in general terms (lines 1-2), on his lineage. Nor is there any comment on his education though it is clear that he was

an educated man or, at least, appreciative of literary ability. As far as his antecedents are concerned, he is a Frank and appears to be grafted by Fortunatus' panegyric on to the stock of the Republican heroes, whose virtues he embodies, without any indication being given that he had ancestors of a kind that could decently be acknowledged by a Roman. There may be good reason for the omission, or at least for the blurring, of this topic, which makes a difference to the sense and purpose of the poem.

For all its panegyric features, this poem is unlike any of the examples of declaimed panegyrics or the literary panegyric to Leontius. The king and bishops have their people, and consensus is of practical importance. Though the people are here mentioned as being well served by Lupus (lines 13, 30), this is of slight relevance to the main focus of the poem, Lupus' noble service and his reward by the king. The address may only be a literary one, like the poem to Leontius, or, more likely, one declaimed at some banquet in celebration of Lupus' elevation, which may partly explain the narrow focus of the poem.

But two other aspects also distinguish it from the other encomia and panegyrics. Though there are strong Roman allusions in tribute to Lupus' qualities, his pedigree is not represented as the cause of his success. His Romanitas is valuable in that it is the source of useful qualities - wisdom, justice and eloquence - which can be placed at the service of the king and his people. Though Rome offers examples of these virtues, Lupus in fact outstrips them with his own ability. The emphasis on Rome is firmly counter-balanced by the development of these skills in a new context and their deployment on behalf of the

whole people, Romans and Franks alike (lines 17, 20, 61). His capability as a general is likewise praiseworthy because it serves the king well. Lupus is an asset because he is of proven worth in carrying out the policies of the king. The poem is a message of congratulation on Lupus' promotion at court and an account of the merits which have got him there.

As has been said, the structure of the poem is not fully that of a basilikos logos. In spite of the references back to Rome, the tone is contemporary. Birth and family are not mentioned and it is the subject's actual achievements that structure the poem. This is very different from the emphasis on the lineage of Leontius and Felix, also Gallo-Romans. The high evocative tone, built up by the Roman context and comparisons and the rhetorical imagery, match the importance of the subject celebrated. But, as in the gratiarum actio to Martin of Braga, this eulogy concentrates on the man as he is, using the exemplars of Roman civic and martial virtue as standards of comparison rather than points on a continuum of birth or tradition which also contains Lupus. The thought, as well as the structure, is somewhat alien to panegyric.

These features - the concentration on the essential worth of Lupus as being his good service to the king (and only indirectly to the king's subjects), the lack of the conventional praise of ancestors and of any motif of consensus - may in fact reflect the political realities accurately. The post of dux was not hereditary, it was an appointment made purely by the king; it was a high-profile military post in which the holders rapidly and regularly succumbed to factors more detrimental than stress (79). Fortunatus targets his praise on

the precise reasons for Lupus' appointment. This is a greater compliment than blurring important issues by turning out the conventional topics of ancestry or support from the people. Here we may again see the poet deliberately using the traditional formulae creatively and realistically to match the Frankish situation, rather than adhering slavishly to convention. In this poem we can also again see approval of virtues which serve the united people, Franks and Romans alike, bonded under one ruler.

In contrast, the encomium to Condan (Poem 7.16) adheres to the full sequence of panegyric very deliberately. Condan is not known from any other source. From his name we know he was a Frank, and from Fortunatus' account of his career we learn that he was one of considerable eminence and ability - not the least of his skills being that of survival. His earliest post is given as that of tribune to Theuderic, who died in 534 (line 17). In succession he became comes to Theudebert (who died in 548), domesticus and tutor to the young king Theudebald (80). Theudebert showed his approval of Condan's services by giving him the cingulum (line 20), a belt which signified royal approval and which was distinguished by the complex and splendid design of the buckle (81). On Theudebald's death in 555, Lothar took over his kingdom and the services of Condan (line 33). His final crowning honour was his appointment as conviva regis at the court of Sigibert (lines 39-42) (82). This cursus honorum marks Condan as a man with wide experience in the financial and administrative matters of the various Frankish kings. His position as tutor to Theudebald can be paralleled by that of Gogo, another eminent royal administrator, who was

tutor to the young Childebert (83). A similar eulogy of a cursus honorum is found in the poems to Galactorius (Poem 10.9) and to Sigoald (Poem 10.16).

The poem begins with an introductory address to Condan, emphasising his long and glorious service to royal households and noting his youthful qualities (lines 1-6). The topos of family and parents is then explicitly reversed to hail Condan as founder of his family fortunes (lines 7-14), much as Fortunatus modified the topos of praise of the bishop's wife to eulogise Felix even further in Poem 3.8. The next section details his career in peaceful spheres in a fairly matter-of-fact manner, hailing his latest appointment as the most glorious, a compliment to Sigibert as much as to Condan himself. His deeds in war are then acclaimed, though these consist mainly of the loss of two sons fighting for their country (lines 47-52). The poem ends with a compliment on his cheerfulness and a generosity and with a prayer for a long life, blessed by his children (lines 53-58).

This encomium is couched in the most straightforward and virtually pedestrian of terms, with hardly a trace of literary, ecclesiastical or visual imagery and allusion. The poet lets Condan's career speak for itself. What he has achieved is described in terms of the successful accomplishment of various services (lines 25-26, 32, 36, 40). In spite of the compliment on his warmth and generosity at the end, the only hint of personal charisma earlier is the stock phrase amor populi (line 37). Sollertia tanta regnandi, the phrase which is coupled with these words, seems substantiated as the more apt description of his qualities by all else Fortunatus says.

The poem seems more like a Who's Who entry on an eminent civil

servant than a rhetorical encomium. Condan is not an insignificant man nor one lacking strength of character. It is possible to see the poem reflecting the man's character and ways, as other poems do, and to speculate on what the relation between the poem and the man is. Possibly - though neither of these factors would seem likely to prevent Fortunatus from writing a conventional but plausible encomium - the poet did not like or know the man well. Or possibly Condan survived in a prominent place so long and successfully by being efficient, politic but unobtrusive, and it is this that the poem reflects. It seems unlikely that any strong literary interests or outstanding moral characteristics would not have been picked up by Fortunatus, as they are in all the poems so far discussed. Does the public image of a king, a bishop, or even a duke, have built-in certain aspects of character, whereas an administrator has only the practical success of his work to characterise him? The poem certainly reflects the pride of a self-made man, the reversal of the panegyric topos of ancestry doubling the compliment on his career. Though the panegyric structure is pared down to a minimum, it is there, to please Condan by its very existence. The genre is a compliment to Leontius because of his family background, to Condan because of the absence of one.

3. Conclusion

Fortunatus' development and adaptation of the basilikos logos and other rhetorical forms was seen in the analysis in the previous

chapter of the panegyrics to kings. The poems discussed in this chapter show that the poet's work based on the panegyric genre is wider ranging still, that his use of the genre and of the rhetorical tradition in general is flexibly and imaginatively adapted to particular people and circumstances.

The three panegyrics to bishops vary in their intent and function and also differ greatly in the image of the bishop they project. The images are far more individual than those of the kings. The royal panegyrics invoke a single ideal of kingship. Those addressed to bishops offer a variety of ideals. Leontius is very much the aristocrat, conscious of his power and ancestry, viewing the bishopric as an added nobility which confers on him even more influence and privileges. The panegyric to him is complete in its structure but does not have the positive function of mediation that is to be found in the panegyrics to Charibert and Chilperic. Felix is similarly portrayed as an archetypal Roman; the use of the genre is a compliment to his status and Romanitas. But again the poem has little practical political function. In contrast, the address to Gregory seeks the support of the people through their consensus in Gregory's reign, and projects the image of the bishop as the shepherd and servant of the people, discarding all mention of worldly lineage for a commendation of the bishop by the king and queen and by spiritual referees. The basic structure of panegyric is there but used sparsely with a minimum of detail on each topic. The presentation has a strongly descriptive and visual element on a level likely to appeal to the assembled people.

The poems to bishops, therefore, make use of the general rhetorical and panegyric tradition. Fortunatus reflects the great power of the bishop within his see and the widely differing characters of individuals. It is interesting to note that, while Fortunatus is regularly willing to give a prescriptive image of their ideal role to the kings, his addresses to bishops are not directive in the same way. They contain certain standard elements of praise but give the sense that, while the poet - probably with the support of the ecclesiastical establishment - is ready to suggest greater conformity as Christian rulers to Sigibert and his brothers, bishops are allowed greater freedom in their chosen style of life and government.

The character of each poem is adapted sensitively to respond to different contexts and purposes, ranging from a static tribute to a poem which is truly panegyric in form and function. The element of visual interaction is greater than in the royal poems, possibly reflecting a richer context or greater interest on the part of the poet himself.

In the poems to nobles, Fortunatus pays Condan and Lupus the tribute of the Roman literary tradition. In the circumstances of the reward to Lupus for his service to the king, the declamation of a poem in the panegyric tradition in itself celebrates his merit. But this poem does not play any active political role. Likewise, the poem to Condan is a tribute by its genre alone. Of all the poems this is the most colourless, presenting neither a recognisable public image nor any strong individual characteristics. But in both these poems it is possible to see another form of response to a certain political

situation or structure of power, with the same interest that was noted earlier in the unified existence of the nation of Franks and Romans.

In all these poems Fortunatus is deriving his work from the rhetorical tradition and especially from the genre of panegyric. In most instances the use of the tradition is itself a compliment, in that it recognises a shared culture - whether the poem is addressed to a Byzantine emperor, to a Gallo-Roman, or to a Frank. This compliment is intensified when it is linked to a stress on the Romanitas of a Gallo-Roman. Fortunatus is prepared to adapt and develop the tradition to suit particular circumstances. In some poems he maintains the full basic structure and plays the role of the classical panegyrist as interpreter and mediator, adapting the topics to an individual as the handbooks advise. In this he extends the use of the basilikos logos to public eulogies of bishops. On occasion there is a strong sense of dramatic interaction - as in the panegyrics to Charibert, Chilperic and Gregory - and the poems reflect visual motifs and scenes, especially in ecclesiastical contexts. There are no long descriptive passages like those in Corippus, there being no Byzantine preoccupation with elaborate ceremonial and no such distance between ruler and people. The poems are characterised by their comparative brevity and simplicity. At times only the elements relevant to a person or situation are preserved, the more effectively to offer praise and commendation. In every aspect of this genre, Fortunatus' work represents a development of the tradition which is imaginative and sensitive and as valid in the Merovingian setting as Corippus' writing is in Byzantium.

CHAPTER FIVE

EPITAPHS AND CONSOLATIONS

Analysis of the encomia and panegyrics of Fortunatus has shown the extent to which the poet used and adapted the existing literary traditions and has illuminated further the role he played as poet in Merovingian Gaul. There is a long and rich tradition in both pagan and Christian writing of expressions of consolation for the bereaved and of commemoration of the dead. The standard motifs of literary and epigraphic writing to explain the fact of death and reconcile the living to it, and to commemorate the dead, are found repeated in every generation with far less variation than there is in the genres of panegyric and encomium. A substantial number of such poems, both consolations and epitaphs, were written by Fortunatus. They offer an interesting insight into his poetic thought and technique, especially since the genres are so rigidly prescribed both by their circumstances of composition and by the philosophical or theological framework within which they are conceived.

A clear distinction must be made initially between the two genres, between an epitaphium and a consolatio. The earliest examples of the consolatio, a genre of epideictic oratory, are found in the late Republic. Cicero wrote a De consolatione on the death of his daughter, Tullia. There are verse examples in the poetry of Horace, Propertius

and others. The rhetoricians identified and prescribed three main sections in a consolatio: laudatio, lamentatio and consolatio. Praise of the dead is followed by the acknowledgement of grief at his/her death, and then by the various themes of consolation to relieve the suffering of the bereaved (1). In pagan writers the suggested consolation lies in the thoughts of the inevitability and universality of death, in death as an end to suffering or as blessed oblivion (2). In Christian writers this emphasis is naturally changed to a portrayal of Paradise and the rewards of the just beyond the grave (3), with the prescription to submit to the will of God (4). In writing in this tradition of consolation, Fortunatus is addressing an individual personality. In the composition of epitaphs, on the other hand, the majority of which are collected in Book 4 and will be discussed later, he writes for the public in verse which was inscribed on a tomb or painted on a wall nearby.

1. Consolations

There are six ~~pieces~~ ^{poems} which may be considered as illustrating Fortunatus' use of the genre of consolatio: Poems 9.2 and 9.3, written to console Chilperic and Fredegund on the death of their sons; Poem 4.26, the Epitaphium Vilithutae; two prose consolations, Poems 10.2 and 10.4; and the consolation on the death of Galswinth, Poem 6.5, De Gelsuintha. Poem 6.6, de horto Ultrogothonis, while not strictly a consolation in form, is sufficiently close in intent to be worth

considering along with these poems.

In a vision in about 577 Gregory foresaw the deaths of all the four sons of Chilperic then alive (5). Theudebert, son of Chilperic and Audovera, had already been killed in 575. Of the two remaining sons of Audovera, Merovech committed suicide to pre-empt his execution by Chilperic after his unsuccessful rebellion in 578 (6). The second son, Clovis, was still live at the time of the dysentery epidemic of 580 (7), as were the two young sons of Chilperic and Fredegund, Dagobert and Chlodobert. The epidemic started in the late summer of that year, with especially fatal consequences to the young. Chilperic himself was affected but recovered. The two young princes were then attacked by the illness. Dagobert, who had not yet been baptised, was baptised straightaway and Fredegund ordered immediate propitiatory prayers and remission of taxes. In spite of this, Dagobert died and was buried in the church of St. Denis in Paris. Chlodobert was carried to the tomb of St. Medard in Soissons where the king and queen made vows for his recovery. But he too died and was buried amid great mourning by the people as well as by his parents. In consequence of this double loss, Chilperic became lavish with gifts to the church and the poor, contrary to his former custom (8).

The wider context within which Fortunatus addressed these poems of consolation to Chilperic and Fredegund and composed epitaphs for their dead sons is the realignment of the Merovingian kingdoms after the murder of Sigibert in 575. Poitiers and Tours were now within the kingdom of Chilperic; and Fortunatus, like Radegund and Gregory of Tours, must have been concerned with all that happened to the king and

his family as being ultimately likely to affect them and their people to some extent. A purely negative motive of prudence may lie behind these poems. But on detailed examination of the poems we may also see a more positive aspect of Christian sympathy and charity for personal loss, as well as the active concern Rade Gund had for the stability and peace of the country attested in Baudonivia's biography of her (9), a concern which can be seen reflected in other poems of Fortunatus (10).

A little earlier that same year Gregory had been charged with treason at the council of bishops convened by the king at Berny-Rivière (11), but had been triumphantly vindicated. Fortunatus had delivered a panegyric to Chilperic on that occasion which can be interpreted, not as a piece of servile and time-serving flattery, but as a positive and subtly presented attempt to save the king's dignity and to transform the tensions and hostilities of that occasion into a more stable and peaceful atmosphere (12). Von Moos sees behind this consolation an attempt to mollify and conciliate the tyrannical Chilperic (13). If this is so, the poems dealing with this later occasion may be seen as a continuation of the poet's previous approach to the king, one of tactful but firm statement of his responsibilities as a Christian monarch.

Poem 9.2 does not start with the usual expressions of laudatio or even of lamentatio to any great extent. The poet speaks instead with constructive and positive persuasion about the way Chilperic should react to his loss. Within the poem is a clear change of mood from despair and hopelessness to acceptance of the tragedy and thence to more outward looking concern for his queen and for his people, in the hope of another son. The object of the poem seems to be to rouse

Chilperic from the apathy of grief.

The poet begins on the lowest and blackest of notes: the motif of the inevitability of death as the condition of fallen humanity (lines 1-12) (14). The bitterness of this condition -

aspera condicio et sors irrevocabilis horae!

(line 1)

(the bitter condition, the immutable doom of time!) -

is intensified by the exposition of man's fate in sorrowful terms, determined as such by the Fall: tristis origo (line 2), dolorem (line 5), gemens ... amara (line 6), probro damnantur acerbo (line 7), dolet ... gemit (line 8), mors ... vorax (line 9), triste nefas (line 11). This gloomy introduction is followed by a catalogue in lines 13 to 40 of the great men of the Old and New Testaments - kings, judges, prophets and apostles - who have succumbed to death. Even Enoch and Elijah, who did not die but were taken directly up to heaven, will not escape this inevitable end. They too will fall victim eventually to the law of mankind that

qui satus ex homine est et moriturus erit

(line 40)

(who is born of man will die) (15).

An example particularly relevant to the king is that of Melchisedech, the king and priest (line 23), mentioned here in his Old Testament context, but elsewhere used by Fortunatus as the type of the truly

Christian ruler (16). Even the most godly king, the implication is, cannot escape death.

These first lines match the most depressed and black mood, but as the catalogue progresses, the mood is gently lightened and the perspective is broadened. The poem changes tone from line 41 onwards and becomes more positive and challenging. Death is the leveller, who comes to kings as to other mortals (17). But Fortunatus reminds Chilperic that Christ, God incarnate, was willing to die for our sakes and though we must all equally die, so equally do we find salvation in Christ (lines 41-52). The message is more optimistic and positive. The form in which it is put is designed to arouse the king from his apathy - a series of challenging rhetorical questions in lines 43 to 46 with the direct interrogative rogo and the command, dic mihi. The move to the first person in the verbs from line 44 onwards strengthens the impression of direct personal appeal.

The proposition is then put to the king: we can do nothing about this inevitable fate, our grief avails us nothing (lines 53-62).

Fortunatus still questions the king:

ergo quid hinc facimus nunc te rogo

(line 53)

(so I ask you now what we are doing in view of this).

He has moved first from generalisations about the human condition to the list of exempla, and now changes again to a direct and personal approach with these commands, questions and the use of the first person. He and Chilperic, as individual human beings, are bound up in

this condition:

sed, nolo atque volo, migrabo cum omnibus illuc:

ibimus hinc omnes, nemo nec inde redit.

(lines 63-64)

(but, whether I like it or not, I will go there with everyone else: ~~we shall all leave~~ this place and no-one returns thence).

And perhaps the king's grief is associated by implication with the grief of his people, desolated by the great loss of their children too in the epidemic (18). This is more than a conventional generalisation at a time when the whole kingdom was afflicted to an extent which Gregory still describes with great sorrow at the later date of his record of events.

The consolation then becomes more hopeful in tone, concentrating on the coming day of resurrection and fulfillment of man's fate in everlasting life (lines 65-70). The salus afforded by the resurrection here offers hope and cancels out the inevitable death of man caused by the Fall, the emphasis given in the first section of the poem.

Fortunatus urges the king therefore to accept God's will, depicting this in the conventional Old Testament image of the potter making and breaking his pots (19). Having eased the mood away from black apathy, he urges the king to think of others: of consoling the queen and putting heart into the people (lines 83-98). The king is reminded of others who have lost sons - Job, David, and the mother of ~~the Maccabees~~ and is urged to be thankful that his sons have been taken from the

the evils of this life and assured of eternal life by their baptism (lines 99-116). The poem ends with a resplendent rhetorical tableau of the children in heavenly glory and an assurance to the king and queen in a thought, common in consolation, that God will grant them another child (20). This child is not left as a vague prospect. The poet sketches in brief but vivid detail the boy playing with his father, taking his mother's milk and putting his arms round their necks (lines 137-140). In view of the violent alienation of Chilperic and Fredegund from Chilperic's only surviving son by Audovera - Chilperic had both Clovis and his mother killed shortly afterwards (21) - this must have been a vital consideration to the king and queen, one which Fortunatus' recognises with diplomatic and positive assurances. Chilperic's dramatically revised attitude to donations to the poor and to the church as a consequence of these deaths (22), in contrast to his more usual scorn of the needs of either (23), perhaps suggests that these lines would offer him more than mere conventional platitudes. As in the panegyric, Fortunatus is offering him discreetly and diplomatically Christian guidance and the prospect of the rewards of the just and of a king who follows the example of Melchisedech.

Of the three sections of a consolatio, that of the laudatio is absent. This is understandable, given the age of the boys and the fact that the emphasis is on them as potential heirs to the throne, a prospect not now to be fulfilled. Silence is more tactful and more appropriate. The usual passage of lamentatio is also lacking. Instead, the poem concentrates entirely upon consolatio, though with a strong evocation in the first four lines of the feelings usually invoked in a lamentatio: the grief, anger and hopelessness behind the epithets

aspera and irrevocabilis (line 1), tristis (line 2), nocens (line 4) and amara (line 6).

In this poem are contained all the conventional ingredients of a consolatio: the inevitability of death, the Christian hope of resurrection, the vision of eternal life, and the positive hope of more children. But these motifs are put together in a way which suggests that Fortunatus had more complex objectives than the token acknowledgement of grief and that this poem, like the panegyric to Chilperic, is carefully constructed to make a positive and practical contribution to the situation. The poet is taking a close stand to the king, not speaking as a remote person or one with whom he had little personal concern. The direct questions and the use of the first person singular and plural identify himself and the people with the king's feelings, and thus the king with the people's sufferings. The movement of thought recognises the king's predicament in losing his heirs and gently offers the hope of another son, if God's will is observed.

The movement and design of the poem show a sensitive approach to grief: sorrow and despair are identified at the start as the sort of obliterating burden they feel to be to the bereaved or very depressed, the feeling that there is no possibility of retrieving a sense of identity, any other qualities of life or even the freedom of will to remove the burden. Fortunatus gradually eases the king away from this by putting his suffering in the context of Christian life which will persuade the king to see matters in better perspective, by challenging the king to think more and more specifically till he can be asked to take action for the sake of the queen and the people. The alternation of exempla and consolatory perspectives with encouragement to thought

and action is subtle and lively. Von Moos recognises the possibility of interpreting this consolation as superficial and formal, and discusses the difficulty in forming an assessment of the tone and intent of the poem (24). Categorized individually, the motifs are indeed well worn. Taken in its historical context and analysed in terms of the structure and composition of motifs, however, the poem appears to offer Chilperic and Fredegund positive advice and Christian consolation, carefully designed, as the panegyric was, to give direction to an unpredictable and violent king.

The poem conveys an impression of confidence on Fortunatus' part in addressing the king. It is an occasional poem in the strict sense but it is not trite, effusive or sycophantic. It is psychologically convincing as a consolation and offers a sympathetic but uncompromising Christian view. The king is not presented as a remote, awesome or fearful character. He, like all others, is mortal. His position as king gives him no exemption. Indeed it gives him special responsibilities in that he must rouse himself for the sake of the queen and the people. If Fortunatus distorts what might be seen from another viewpoint as a vicious and bellicose character, this is not in any fawning or adulatory manner. As he does in the panegyric, by holding out an ideal and elevated view of what Chilperic should be as a king, even when overwhelmed by grief, Fortunatus seeks to direct and modify the king's behaviour.

The next poem, Poem 9.3, was addressed to Chilperic and Fredegund for the Easter of 581, the year after the death of their sons. Here the bleakness of immediate loss expressed in

aspera condicio et sors irrevocabilis horae

(Poem 9.2.1)

(the bitter condition, the immutable doom of time)

is now receding. This poem looks with hope to a stage beyond that:

post tempestates et turbida nubila caeli

(Poem 9.3.1)

(after the storms and swirling clouds in the sky).

The storms of winter are here succeeded by spring's warmth and growth and pleasure (lines 1-10). The poet urges Chilperic to feel some comfort and joy after his grief and to celebrate the joyful coming of Easter with all his household. The oppression felt in the immutable condition of man's sin and death has faded to a more transient grief. Affliction is seen as inevitable but Fortunatus now focuses on the king's feelings rather than on the loss itself. The theme of the poem is that feelings fade with time: pain and grief are inevitable but, like the seasons, come and go. The earlier poem focuses on the inevitability of death itself, its permanence and consequently its permanent resolution in the hope of Christian salvation. The change between the two poems can be seen as a sensitive reaction to the natural stages of the process of grieving. There would have been an appropriateness here at this time of the year in taking up again the theme of Poem 9.2, the hope of the Resurrection. Instead the poet draws a more light-hearted and even frivolous picture of idyllic springtime in the pastoral tradition and even with two close verbal

echoes of classical writers (25). The Christian moral is drawn in lines 13 onwards, but is not laboured. There are motifs common to many consolations. The advice to overcome storms of grief and attain serenity echoes the near contemporary consolations of Avitus and Remigius (26). But the overall emphasis and impression is of the sheer physical exhilaration of inevitable regrowth and renewal (27).

Even more than in the previous poem, the emphasis here is upon consolatio, rather than on laudatio or lamentatio, and upon consolation for a later stage of mourning. Yet the poem may properly be considered a consolation, developing the train of persuasion and gentle prescription of the previous address. Von Moos sees the poems as conventional elaborations of stock motifs with little psychological validity by comparison with that of Paulinus of Nola (28). However, poems to an unberechenbar Potentat who has already shown himself a dangerous master at Gregory's trial are a different matter from a poem of consolation to grieving friends. The poems flatter Chilperic's dignity and literary interests but realistically reflect the different stages of grief and, like the panegyric, achieve the objective von Moos recognises, a tactful and conciliatory approach to Chilperic by means of carefully organised advice and exempla.

These poems, together with the epitaphs for the two princes (29), offer an interesting record of Fortunatus' writing for Chilperic and Fredegund in a developing and changing situation. A catalogue of the documentation of their pedigree shows that they derive centrally from a long tradition of literary consolations. Only the analysis of their composition in the historical context shows that the intent of the

poems, carried out through the structure of motifs and the interweaving of imagery and exempla, is not a neutral or passive reaction of a trite and conventional occasional poem to the situation. Nor is Fortunatus concerned to offer servile or uncritical flattery to the king. The first consolation carried the king in a positive and directive manner from apathetic desolation to the first stages of recovery and acceptance. The second reinforced a healthy reaction to the later stage of grief and urged the king to move even beyond that. Both poems use the full biblical and classical literary resources to convey their message effectively, in a fashion which a writer of bad Sedulius-type verse would appreciate (30). For all the elements of subtle persuasion, Fortunatus offers Chilperic a clear idea of what his duty is as a Christian king, as he did in the panegyric. In this we may see the interests and concerns of the poet and, in all likelihood, a reflection of the concerns of Gregory and Fredegund as well.

A third lengthy consolation, that to Dagaulf on the death of his wife, Vilithuta (Poem 4.26), is entitled epitaphium but from its length and content is clearly a literary consolation and not an inscription. The only indication of a possible date is in line 97 where Fortunatus includes Radegund and Agnes amongst the heavenly host who will appear on Judgement Day:

hinc mater, hinc sponsa Agnes

(here(our) mother, here the betrothed Agnes).

Since the Virgin Mary has been mentioned in the previous line, the reference is presumably to Radegund in mater, and to the community's abbess in Agnes. The inclusion of Radegund and Agnes with the virgin martyrs Thecla and Agatha implies that the two women are dead at the time of writing and are envisaged here as part of the heavenly host that will greet Vilithuta. The date of the poem must therefore be after Radegund's death in 587 and that of Agnes at some date around the same time.

The structure of this poem more clearly adheres to the pattern of laudatio, lamentatio and consolatio. It begins with commonplaces on the harsh and transitory nature of life (32). Lines 7 to 46 then rehearse the virtues of Vilithuta, whose death is so untimely. Her typically feminine merits - her gentle and happy nature (lines 15-18), her beauty and virtue (lines 19-28) - leave a lasting memory. Here and in the following brief biography Fortunatus stresses her education. A Parisian in origin, she was Roman in learning, barbarian by birth (lines 13 - 14), a person who exhibited a combination of the virtues of the two races Fortunatus praises elsewhere in his panegyric to Charibert (33). In addition to her natural qualities:

... studiis ornata iuventus:

quod natura nequit, littera prompta dedit.

(lines 39-40)

(... her tender years adorned with study: what nature had could not give her, learning readily provided).

The lamentatio is introduced by the entry of mors invida in line 47 and continues to line 68. The reasons for grief are explained: that she died young and in childbirth, Dagaulf thus losing both a wife and a child. In the consolation which follows (line 69 ff.) Fortunatus offers Dagaulf the thought that the generosity of husband and wife to the poor has laid up rewards in heaven: happy are those who do this, whilst a fearful judgement awaits those who do not (lines 69-92). Again these passages contain echoes in thought of traditional consolatory motifs (34) and in wording of earlier classical and Christian authors (35). Fortunatus draws a tableau of the heavenly host on the Day of Judgement. The terror of that day is depicted in fearsome terms which recall the more judgmental passages of Matthew (36). In contrast to the fate of the wicked, the fate of the good is drawn in the glowing terms of an idyllic existence in the Garden of Paradise. The motif again is one familiar in consolations (37). The contrast between the fate of the wicked and the heavenly bliss Vilithuta enjoys is used with effect to give force to Fortunatus' concluding advice to Dagaulf. He is urged not to mourn her fate, which can only be blessed - a well attested idea (38)-and to remember that all sorts and conditions of men die. He must therefore accept her fate and be assured of her happiness. This section too is an evocative amalgam of biblical, classical and patristic sources (39).

The consolation to Chilperic had focussed on him as king, taking little note of the character of the dead children and omitting the laudatio, creating instead, through the lengthy catalogue of exempla in the first forty lines, an exhortation to the king to remember his duty to the queen and people. The consolation to Daugulf, by contrast,

is addressed to a private individual and is directed in those introductory lines to a laudatio on the worth of Vilithuta herself. The Christian argument here is based less on the emotive resonance of exempla than on the detailed exposition of moral worth and its reward of death in the perspective of eternal life. Such emphasis does not belittle Vilithuta's life or the sorrow her husband must feel for her loss.

The lamentatio, the transitional passage after the eulogy of Vilithuta, dealing with the fearsome fate of the wicked, picks up the fears of grief, urging Dagaulf to realise that they are only appropriate to the wicked and so irrelevant to Vilithuta. Her virtues are so apparent that he should only rejoice for her happy state. The motifs are commonplace. What else can they be? It is the way the commonplaces are put together which is important. Here is a strong and persuasive sermon of hope. Good therapy enables people to mourn but at the same time aims to reawaken sensitivity and hope (40). Fortunatus speaks with comfort and encouragement to an individual in tragic circumstances. Moreover, the evocative literary atmosphere of the poem, with classical as well as biblical allusions, is in itself a tribute to Vilithuta's learning, and probably also to that of her husband, assuming that he shared her interests.

Some interesting points arise from a comparison of this poem with the consolations to Chilperic and Fredegund and the epitaphs on the two princes, Chlodobert and Dagobert (Poems 9.4 and 5). Chlodobert and Vilithuta died at ^{an early} age. Chlodobert is not mentioned in the consolations to his parents. In the epitaph on him (Poem 9.4),

Fortunatus speaks only of the illustrious lineage of the fifteen year old prince, stressing his legitimacy as the son of Chilperic and his lawfully wedded wife, Fredegund. The prince is thus depicted as being without achievement or noteworthy characteristic, possessed by birth of status which causes his death to be mourned as the lost hope of the Franks. Dagobert is similarly characterised as the son of his father, a royal Merovingian prince. By contrast, if we were not told Vilithuta's age, we might well think of her as being in her twenties or thirties. As a female, marriage is her introduction into the adult world (41) and Vilithuta has already achieved everything that society expects of her: she has all the virtues required of a woman, she has married and born a child. Her life is complete in a sense in which Chlodobert's is not, though she has not had the lifespan to achieve the visible and practical monuments of Theudechild I (Poem 4.25), Theodechild II (Poem 6.3) or Eufrasia (Poem 4.27). The portrayal of the two dead teenagers and the small boy illustrates vividly social roles in the military society of the Merovingians.

Comparison between the two consolations, Poems 9.2 and 4.26, also makes it clear that the purpose of each is very different. Both begin with a brief word on the aspera condicio of mankind but from there they diverge markedly. The consolation to Dagaulf offers approximately 70 lines on Vilithuta and her virtues, 70 lines on the fate of the good and the wicked, and 20 on the conclusion that Dagaulf must rejoice for Vilithuta's present condition. In their particular circumstances it is natural for Dagaulf to weep for his loss but he is urged to take a braver and more optimistic view. Fortunatus writes at an individual and personal level with a message of Christian hope and

courage.

In addressing Chilperic, Fortunatus barely mentions the children and certainly does not characterise them in any detailed or personal way. The passage parallel to the eulogy of Vilithuta is a list of exempla of kings and leaders who were yet overcome by death. Insofar as this is relevant to the boys, it is viewing them as potential kings, not as individuals with personal moral qualities (though it might possibly be imagined that Fortunatus was safer in keeping the poems on these grounds). The role of the king, as depicted by Fortunatus in the panegyrics, seems to carry with it an image of certain moral qualities - the king as peacemaker, protector of his people, and so on. The poet does not even associate these virtues in prospect with the princes. The point is that, for all the king's power, they must yield to death. There might even be seen here, given that the boys are hardly mentioned, a veiled memento mori to Chilperic himself with its implications for his conduct in this life. The boys are recalled briefly at the end with an assurance of their eternal life (lines 115-134). This impression of concern for them individually is somewhat offset by the next lines offering Chilperic and Fredegund the hope of replacement heirs. The advice of this consolation is that Chilperic should forget his sorrows and remember his duties to his queen and his country. Gregory's account of Chilperic's extravagant grief (42) suggests that this advice was badly needed.

All three poems are composed of conventional elements of consolation, the poem on Vilithuta corresponding more fully to the complete structure of a consolatio than those on the princes. What tabulation such as that of von Moos of the history and development

of each element and discussion without reference to the historical context does not show is the impact of a particular arrangement of motifs and the extent to which widely differing messages can be conveyed by what can be listed as the same component parts.

Examination of the overall structure of the poems shows Fortunatus responding very differently to different people and circumstances, though the actual motifs are largely the same.

In contrast to these three verse consolations, Poem 10.2 is a prose letter of consolation in response to a letter bringing news of the death of a girl (sect.9). No information is given of Salutaris' identity, nor of a likely date for the letter. The letter begins with the familiar comment on the bitterness and uncertainty of life (sect. 1), then develops at length the implications of the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve (sect.2-6), which mean that death is an inevitable part of life, such that not even the prophets and patriarchs, nor even Christ himself (insofar as he was human) can escape (sect.7-8). The girl had died at the age of ten, just before marriage. Fortunatus says that he avoids dwelling on her virtues for fear of intensifying her father's grief (sect.9-10). He urges Salutaris to believe that he has returned what was merely entrusted to him and must suffer patiently, since even the great must be overtaken by death (sect.11-12). It is indeed fortunate that she died a virgin, for this is to her spiritual benefit (sect.13-14). Salutaris must follow the example of Job and David, accept God's will without murmur, and believe in the promise of eternal life (sect.15-17).

As in the consolation to Chilperic and Fredegund, the section on laudatio is omitted. Sections 1 to 8 comprise a lamentatio, a plaint against the cruelty of man's condition. Sections 9 to 17 contain the consolatio, reconciling Salutaris to what has happened. In Poem 9.2 the salus of the Resurrection was set in counterbalance to the death brought on man by the Fall. So here there is first a strong emphasis on Eve (with no mention of Adam, as there was in Poem 9.2.2-6), as the source of all our miseries:

mater de genere sed noverca de crimine, infelix cunctis Eva

(sect.4)

(Eve, our mother by her childbearing, but stepmother by her wrongdoing, calamitous for us all).

The consolation to Salutaris is that his daughter has avoided her tainted inheritance as a woman by dying a virgin (sect.14). The consolatio is specifically pitted against the force of the lamentatio, the point being driven home by the final words, that those will rise who are de virginitate securi (saved by their virginity).

This letter and the other prose consolation (Poem 10.4) show, as von Moos observes (43), that Fortunatus does not limit the genre to verse. It is interesting to note the differences between the verse and prose examples we have. This consolation is heavily imbued with the biblical and patristic wisdom on the Christian view of life and death (44). Every section is strongly evocative of centuries of writing on this subject. The argument is densely packed, with no such visual resting

points as the assembly of the hosts on the Day of Judgment in the consolation on Vilithuta (Poem 4.26.93-136). The address to Salutaris is more complex in its arguments. The argument in Poem 4.26 is relatively simple: a eulogy of Vilithuta (lines 1-68), she is virtuous and the virtuous are rewarded (lines 69-136), the reward is better than earthly life, and Dagaulf ought to rejoice for her and forget his grief (lines 137-160). There are, however, strong similarities between Poem 10.2 and Poem 9.2, the consolation to Chilperic, as the following table shows:

	Poem 9.2	Poem 10.2
life's harshness	lines 1-2	sect.1
the Fall	lines 3-12	sect.2-6
all succumb (<u>exempla</u>)	lines 11-52	sect. 7-8
	(futility of grief: (circumstances	
	lines 53-62)	of death:
		sect.9-10)
all must return whence came	lines 63-70	sect.11
		(<u>exempla</u> :
		sect. 12-13)
overcome grief and accept		
God's will (e.g. Job and		
David)	lines 81-106	sect.14-16.
belief in life eternal	lines 107-130	sect.17

The contrast between the two lies in the lengthier use of descriptive

and evocative exempla in the verse version, the more analytical exposition of a point with relatively terse use of exempla in the prose. What is a line on an exemplum in Poem 9.2 becomes a phrase or a listed name in 10.2. Noah is used as an example in both. In Poem 9.2 Fortunatus writes:

quid Noe memorem, laudatum voce Tonantis?

quem levis arca tulit, nunc gravis arva premit?

(lines 17-18)

(what shall I say of Noah, commended by the voice of God,
whom once the buoyant Ark bore aloft and now the heavy
earth weighs down?)

The point is made by description and by the antithesis of arca/arva in line 18, an antithesis somewhat artificially contrived by the use of the very rare singular arva (45). In Poem 10.2 the poet says:

hinc ... neque Noe se subtraxit, qui diluvio mortem
distulit non mutavit.

(sect.7)

(Noah did not free himself from this, since in the Flood
he postponed but did not change the condition of death).

The point of the example is here made explicitly. The difference in balance between examples and exposition in the two versions can also be seen in the two passages on the Fall. In Poem 10.2 Fortunatus spends five sections (236 words in section 2 to 6) expounding the

implications of the Fall, followed by one brief section of listed exempla. In Poem 9.2 ten lines (68 words) of repetitive exposition are followed by thirty lines of exempla. Though this difference may be explained to some extent by the differing characters of the two recipients, the two consolations offer an interesting opportunity to compare Fortunatus' prose and verse styles on a single topic. The poetic technique of making a point by evocation and allusion can be seen here in clear contrast to the prose style of exposition and more compressed argument.

In contrast to Poem 4.26 and Poem 9.2 the prose consolations are alike in avoiding a laudatio and in making scarcely any mention of the dead child and children. In the address to Salutaris the girl is characterised in a brief and clichéd fashion (sect.9). Fortunatus uses a conventional motif to avoid the task of more detailed comment by suggesting that it would just stir up more grief (46). The explanation of the lack of detailed characterisation may simply be that Fortunatus had little or no personal knowledge of the family. The youth of the girl may also have made a personal eulogy seem inappropriate for the reasons given above to explain the difference between the consolations on the princes and on Vilithuta. It seems significant that both these poems without a laudatio are occasioned by the death of children. The emphasis is upon consolatio for the parents, the lack of a laudatio serving to focus attention further on the emotions of the adults.

The lack of personal comment in this letter to Salutaris does not however by any means make it a formulaic or routine communication. Comparison with Letter 10.4 makes this clear. This letter was written

in the name of Radegund as head of the community in response to the news brought by envoys of the death of the daughter of a widow of some prominence (47). The girl had evidently been a member of the community at Poitiers (sect.3). The sentiments are expressed in an elaborate, convoluted and formal epistolary style, in contrast to the plainer style of *Poem* 10.2. Various commonplaces of consolation are offered (48) but there is not the rhetorical persuasiveness of the consolation to Chilperic, the detailed and sympathetic eulogy of Vilithuta, nor the close theological argument to Salutaris. Fortunatus passes over the points briefly. It might be suggested that this is because the letter was written in Radegund's name, that Fortunatus personally was prepared to write with more detailed sympathy but felt unable to do so for Radegund. The evidence of *De excidio Thoringiae* (App.1) would suggest that this was not the case (49). Writing in Radegund's name on that occasion, the poet has no hesitation in using a dramatic and emotional style. The answer must be that this is merely a formal, polite letter of condolence to someone with no strong personal connection with Poitiers.

A blend of traditional motifs and political purpose can be seen in the poem on the death of Galswinth (*Poem* 6.5). Galswinth, Brunhild's elder sister, was brought from Toledo by Chilperic in an attempt to rival the stature of his brother's marriage. Galswinth, like her sister, was converted to Catholicism but so enraged her husband with her refusal to accept Fredegund, his earlier wife, that, as rumour had it, he had her strangled (50). This poem concentrates specifically on the sorrow of Brunhild at her sister's death and on the feelings of their mother,

Goiswinth, two women mourning the tragedy of a third. The lack of reference to Athanagild, Galswinth's father, might suggest that this poem was written after his death in about 568 (48) and that Goiswinth had not yet remarried. Whether or not that is the case, the focus on Goiswinth can in any case be explained as a diplomatic and indirect expression of regret or even apology for the failure of Brunhild and Sigibert to protect her sister. The poem does not speak explicitly for the king and queen, and Brunhild is only referred to in the third person as mourning her sister's death. Assuming that Athanagild was still alive at the time of writing, any formal retribution lay between the two kings, Chilperic and Athanagild. This poem emanates from a different kingdom. Any attempt by Sigibert to cast blame openly might stir up further trouble with Chilperic or lead to the imputation of negligence on his part: he should have taken better care of Brunhild's sister. Instead, even that sister does not speak directly, but is shown sharing her parents' grief in a poem which comes from her kingdom and makes no direct comment on Chilperic and Fredegund.

Dill sees this poem, as he does the panegyric to Chilperic, Poem 9.1, as being the work of a servile and opportunist flatterer. Caron, on the other hand, defends Fortunatus' integrity, opting to interpret the poem as a naive and premature reaction to the initial news of Galswinth's death, put about with appropriate expressions of grief by Chilperic and Fredegund (53). Close consideration of this poem, as of Poem 9.1, suggests a very different assessment of the work.

As Davis suggests in his analysis of the poem (52), the circumstances of Galswinth's death clearly called not only for the usual rhetorical resources of lamentation and consolation, but for

expressions of acute grief. Among the chief grounds for such violent lamentation in antiquity were death in youth, untimely death, death by violence, or away from home and without proper burial rights (that is, without the presence of near kin) and death occurring soon after marriage. All these conditions were present in Galswinth's murder and it is in the light of the traditional rhetorical response to such circumstances that Fortunatus' poem should be seen. Both Davis and Steinmann see this poem as focussing on the topic of lamentatio (49). There is only a brief laudatio of the dead princess and an equally brief consolatio. The poem begins with a traditional motif of consolation, the uncertainty of fate (lines 1-22) (54). This passage emphasises Galswinth as an exile, far from home (lines 17-20), in contrast to Brunhild's success and security (lines 13-16). Line 23 begins the story of the marriage with its fatal consequences, casting in retrospect sinister tones of prescience. Lines 25 and 26 give an ironic nod in the direction of the conventions of the epithalamium:

(fixa Cupidineis cuperet huc frigora flammis
viveret et gelida sub regione calens)

(transfixed by the flames of Cupid, she longed for the cold
here and, burning, she lived even in an icy land).

Fortunatus tells the story of the arrival of the embassy, emphasising the grief of the mother and the people at the separation and their reluctance to let Galswinth go. We might even read into line 31 -

bracchia constringens nectit sine ~~fine~~ ^{finem}

(throwing her arms round, she wove a constraining link
without a rope) -

the single reference, made only by implication, to the way Galswinth was to meet her death.

From the point at which it is decided to accede to the embassy's request, Davis identifies six separate querelae in the poem: three by the mother, Goiswinth (lines 49-82; 138-168; 321-346), and one each by Galswinth herself (lines 97-122), her nurse (lines 259-270) and her sister Brunhild (lines 283-298) (55). The first three querelae mourn the cruelty of separation, each focussing on a different aspect of the experience. The first (line 49 ff.) bewails the cruel separation of mother and daughter; the second (line 97 ff.) Galswinth's separation from her mother city; the third (line 138 ff.) suggests Goiswinth's alienation from her country, Spain, in her grief. As Davis observes, each querela represents an enlargement of the perspective through widening circles of grief.

Every detail stresses Galswinth as a hapless victim. No mention is made of the fact that Brunhild was already in Gaul and that Galswinth was not therefore going to a place totally unconnected with her family. The envoys are depicted as more cruel than a victorious army in hurrying Galswinth away (lines 41-56). The dramatic speech from Goiswinth as Galswinth leaves (lines 49-82) creates an atmosphere of fear and sorrow, echoed in the scene of chaos and apprehension as her escort prepares to leave (lines 89-94). Goiswinth's speech is answered by an equally overwritten, portentous speech by Galswinth as she leaves Toledo (lines 97-122) which emphasises her role as a peregrina.

The grief-stricken scene of departure is intensified by the ironic reference to future children for Galswinth (line 149) and shadowed by the sors irrevocabilis of line 175, echoing common motifs of consolation (56).

Line 207 begins with a description of her journey north. The poet specially marks her friendly reception at Poitiers and Tours (within the kingdom of Brunhild and Sigibert), noting that he himself had seen her pass (line 223), and mentioning Radegund's goodwill towards her. The goodwill and kindly treatment offered in Sigibert's kingdom is in obvious contrast to what she then goes on to meet.

Fortunatus then gives a brief account of the marriage, making no mention of Chilperic by name (line 237 ff.). He remarks on the dowry brought by Galswinth (which Gregory also notes as being much to Chilperic's satisfaction (57)), again indirectly commenting on Chilperic's unjustified behaviour. In a brief laudatio Galswinth is depicted as being loved and respected by the people (line 238), as winning loyalty and the allegiance of the military (lines 240-242), as fulfilling the expected role of giver of charity (line 244) and being converted to the Catholic faith (lines 245-246). The picture of a good and beautiful queen is shattered by the assault of improba mors (line 247). No reference is made to the violence of her death, only to its prematurity.

The first to hear news of the princess' death is her nurse (line 255). The nurse's querela (line 259 ff.) prefigures that of the mother. She is a mother-substitute, mourning premature death and the reversal of the natural sequence of parents dying before their children (lines 269-270) and performing the funeral ceremonies which

are properly the responsibility of near kin.

Brunhild's querela (line 283 ff.) then expatiates on the theme of the absence of kin and on Galswinth's death as a peregrina. Galswinth then takes up the lament when the news reaches her, her third plaint at this point, the climax of her grief, explicitly casting back to her earlier querelae of separation (lines 49-82 and 138-168):

hoc ergo illud erat, quod mens praesaga timebat?

(line 333)

(was this, then, what my foreseeing mind feared?)

The phrase, mens praesaga, touches the scene with epic dignity in its echo of the presentiment of Mezentius of the death of Lausus in the Aeneid (58). The epic atmosphere is also suggested by the fact that Galswinth's foremost mourner is her nurse, a picture which recalls the betrayal and tragic death of Dido herself. This reference is intensified by the figure of Fama (line 281) who bears the news of her sister's death to Brunhild, as she bore the news of Dido's death in the Aeneid (59). The lament thus moves on to an epic scale of outrage against the harshness of life, of death, and finally of the whole order of nature, widening the range of rebellion to its utmost extent.

The lament of the sister is symmetrically balanced against that of the mother, Fortunatus representing them both as taking place at the same time, though in different places. The mourning of Nature in response to the grief of both women emphasises this balance (lines 303-308 and 347-352) (60).

The poem ends with the hope of eternal life for Galswinth and with

consolation for her sister in various traditional motifs (61). The tableau of the company of St. Stephen, St. Peter and the Virgin Mary with the miracle of the unbroken lamp at the princess' tomb, suggests that Galswinth is marked as a martyr, one of the "Very Special Dead" whose eternal life is assured (62).

Davis' analysis of this poem and the work of Blomgren in exploring loci similes in Fortunatus in relation to the work of Statius have illuminated the poet's intentions here. Verbal echoes cast Goiswinth in the role of the abandoned lover of elegiac poetry, her complaints and poses echoing those of the heroines of Ovid, Catullus and Vergil (63). As Blomgren observes, there are close parallels between this poem and Statius' *Achilleid*, the lament of Deidamia at the end of Book One of the *Achilleid* clearly being in Fortunatus' mind when he composed Goiswinth's querelae (64). There is also evocation in Galswinth's farewell speech of Seneca's Medea (65). This reference not only creates an atmosphere of fate-laden doom but suggests, as Davis observes, a certain element of guilt on Goiswinth's part for allowing her daughter to embark on this marriage, a very indirect and subtle point which may suggest that not all blame is to be given to the Merovingians. At the same time the Vergilian echoes noted already place Galswinth in the role of the betrayed Dido.

The transition from lament to consolation is equally evocative and elaborately structured. The progress of Galswinth to Poitiers and Tours, her warm reception there and the eulogy of the two great saints, Hilary and Martin (lines 213-246) lead to a statement of her conversion to the Catholic faith (lines 245-246) and so to her hope of eternal life. Fortunatus evokes the words of Mopsus in the consolation

on the death of Daphnis (66) by using Vergil's phrase, ad sidera notus, of St. Martin (line 229). At this point of the Eclogue Mopsus comes to the climax of his consolation with the epitaph on Daphnis, Menalcas replying with a depiction of the apotheosis of Daphnis, death and separation being transcended through the power of poetry (67). Fortunatus' evocation of a Vergilian apotheosis, made through love and the power of poetry, adds a depth of literary resonance and dignity to the Christian reference. As he does in other poems, Fortunatus enhances a contemporary Merovingian and ecclesiastical occasion by his evocation of the Latin literary tradition.

The second facet of consolation is the assurance of Galswinth's hope of eternal life. The phrase recalling her conversion - conciliata placet - in the first instance (line 246) is significantly repeated as she is depicted in the exalted company of St. Stephen, St. Peter and the Virgin Mary. Moreover, in this tableau she is arrayed in the stola pulchra of heavenly life (line 362) and holds the symbol of eternal life (vitae signa - lines 365-366), the lamp which Gregory records as falling from its position in front of her tomb and miraculously surviving intact, embedded in the hard stone floor (68). Fortunatus has already described the incident of the lamp earlier, in the account of her burial (lines 277-280). The implications of the miraculous event are confirmed by Galswinth's position in the tableau, holding the lamp. The event in itself was extraordinary. In addition, a lamp has special significance as a symbol of eternal life, deriving from the New Testament parable of the wise and foolish virgins (69) and identifying Galswinth with true wisdom and the kingdom of heaven. The second facet of consolation, following on from the picture of her

welcome into the church, is, then, the assurance of her place as one of the "Very Special Dead" (70).

The poem is more than a consolation, in spite of the formulae in the introduction and in the final section. The emphasis is rightly seen by Davis as being on lamentatio, the poet attempting to move his audience to tears with the pathos of the tragedy, but arousing compassion and even indignation rather than soothing and assuaging grief. There are traditional motifs of consolation at the end of the poem and in the first few lines. But these enclose the dramatic narrative, rather than permeate or set the tone of the poem. The motif of the letter with news of tragedy, in line 283, for example, is a stage in the drama, rather than any form of consolation.

The bulk of the poem is a tragic epic narrative, interspersed with set speeches. Significant echoes of Vergil and Statius, amongst others, are found in the actual wording. There are reminders of epic in the motif of the betrayal, in the nurse figure and in Fama. The Christian elements are perhaps uneasily blended. The introductory consolation is not specifically Christian, though the final section gives a conventional sketch of a Christian queen, concentrating on her conversion and on the hope for eternal life for her. As in the epithalamium to Brunhild (71), the atmosphere is primarily that of its pagan models. It might be suggested that the young poet had not yet found a way to blend a Christian viewpoint easily with pagan patterns of expression. But the literary form had a twofold advantage: it gave a dignified and traditional form to the expression of grief and at the same time side-stepped any possible difficulties arising from more explicitly Christian comments. Gregory identifies Goiswinth as a rabid

Arian, persecuting Catholics (including, later, Ingund, Sigibert's daughter) with great bitterness (72). This poem, like the epithalamium for Brunhild while she was still an Arian, has a public and political purpose, and, for that reason will avoid contentious issues. Galswinth is praised as a Catholic martyr, a sadly wronged and hapless victim. To speak in greater detail in Christian consolation to a heretic was perhaps not possible.

The lack of reference to Chilperic is marked. Radegund's interest in the peace and stability of the Merovingian kingdoms has already been noted (73). Her concern for Galswinth is specifically mentioned here (lines 225-226) and this poem may be seen as an extension of that care and concern. Poitiers and Tours were only newly under the authority of Sigibert (74). Appendix 2, the gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia, has already been discussed as an address written by Fortunatus on behalf of Radegund to further the religious life of the community but also in parallel with Sigibert's religious policies. Here feelings are aroused in reaction to Galswinth's tragic death. But no human agency is named. The event is sublimated to an epic level. The insistence on irrevocabilis sors removes the death to a level beyond mere human intervention and control. It might be suggested that this poem, inspired by Radegund and written with the interests of Sigibert and Brunhild in mind, is intended to state to the Visigothic kingdom in no uncertain terms the strong reaction of the king and queen to this death. But at the same time, through the remote and tragic level at which it speaks and by its concentration on the grief of women who can bear no blame for the death or responsibility for avenging it, it diplomatically evades such issues of revenge and

declares a firm intent to maintain peace with Chilperic. The poem may be seen as a statement of the intent of Brunhild and Sigibert, or as the voice of Radegund to the king and queen, urging them to take this attitude of acceptance and to refuse to become embroiled in any feud with Chilperic. Whichever is the case, the general intent of conciliation is clear, as is the skill with which it is expressed. Fortunatus can again be seen here as an invaluable instrument in the expression of political policy, conveying nuances of intention with diplomatic clarity.

These six poems and letters are overtly consolations, written to give comfort on a recent death. There is another poem which is not directly addressed to the bereaved for such a death but nevertheless has as its object to console and comfort, though for a more distant loss: Poem 6.6, de horto Ultrogothonis.

Ultrogotha and her two daughters were exiled by Lothar on the death of Childbert I in 558 (75). After Lothar's death in 562, Chilperic occupied Paris but was driven out by his brothers' joint action. Charibert received Childbert's kingdom in the redivision of territory (76) and recalled the queen and her two daughters from exile (77), an act which was celebrated by Fortunatus in his panegyric to Charibert (Poem 6.2). This poem appears to have been written at about the same time and is a poem of consolation to the widowed queen. The subject is the garden which her husband, Childebert, had planted by the side of the church of St. Vincent in Paris. Childebert's reign was remarkable for the number of distinguished bishops in the cities of his kingdom and for the numerous monastic foundations made by the king (78). In

this instance Childebert had brought the tunic of St. Vincent home from Spain in 542 (79) and had acquired also from Toledo a gold cross with a fragment of the True Cross and thirty fine chalices. To contain these relics and treasures he built outside the walls of Paris a church to St. Vincent and the Holy Cross, which was finished in 558 and dedicated by St. Germanus on December 13th of that year (80). When Childebert died he was buried in the church (81). Germanus was later buried beside the king on his death in 576, to be followed by other members of the royal family, including Ultrogotha herself (82). The church was known variously as the church of St. Vincent, of St. Germanus, of the Holy Cross and of combinations of these dedications (83). But the fame of the local saint, Germanus, eventually outstripped the rest and the church became known by his name. The present S. Germain-des-Prés stands on its site (84). Fortunatus wrote a poem on the church itself (Poem 2.10) which may be seen as a tribute to Childebert and indirectly to Charibert and, possibly, to Ultrogotha. He also addressed a poem to Droctoveus, first abbot of the monastery attached to the church (85). In the poem to Ultrogotha Fortunatus writes of the garden made next door to the church by the king. The queen herself acquired a reputation for saintly devotion during her lifetime which was later equated with that of Clotild, Radegund, and Balthild (86). Her Referendary was Ursicinius, later Bishop of Cahors (87), a fact which might suggest further her close involvement with the church.

The poem paints an idyllic picture of the garden as a haven of beauty and peace for Ultrogotha and a memorial to Childebert, in terms which also make it a symbol of heavenly hope for both of them. The

first eight lines depict the garden in terms of a classical locus amoenus with strong Vergilian echoes (88). Interwoven with these classical elements are details with plain Christian associations as well. Ver purpureum in line 1 not only conveys the Vergilian image of the glossy beauty of the plants but introduces a colour appropriate in classical and Christian terms to a queen and widow (89).

Paradisiacas ... rosas in line 2 is in the classical tradition of offerings of roses to the dead (90) but also, in the association of roses and paradise, invokes the Christian vision of resurrection and life eternal in a haven of perpetual spring with budding roses (91). The apples in line 8 are likewise the fruit of the garden of Paradise.

The symbolism of the garden scene continues. These apples are both a practical instance of Childbert's fruitfulness (lines 9-16), enshrining his memory (lines 17-18) but also, by their sapor and odor (lines 11-16) metaphorically recalling his sapor (his good sense) and the odor of his virtues (92). Line 17 has in its fruitful tree a strong link with the tree of redemption:

felix perpetua generetur ab arbore fructus

(may blessed fruit be produced from the everlasting tree) (93),

which leads the thought of the poem to Childbert's present resting place and to the intimation of life in Paradise ever after in lines 21-22. Felix in line 23 echoes the word in line 17 to give a blessing to Ultrogotha and her daughters and to wish them possession of the garden and all it stands for in perpetuity.

The immediate subject of the poem is the particular garden, the

consolation is in terms of praise for the practical monuments to Childebert's virtues - the beautiful and fruitful garden, the good memory men have of him, the church he built where he now rests. The beauty and worth of the garden are stressed by the dignity of a literary evocation of classical idyllic landscapes, while the consolation is conveyed in terms of the Christian hope of eternal life merited by the qualities which created the garden and which can be seen metaphorically in it. The imagery here is double. In one aspect it is secular, in that Childebert is the salus of his people (line 15) and his fruitfulness is symbolised by the garden he planted. But the terms in which this image is set out - salus, felix, arbor, poma, and so on - have a further level of Christian reference. The reader has already been prepared for these by the overtones of the initial description of the garden. These arouse associations which reinforce the idea of his peaceful rest and hope for heavenly salvation, since, as he was the source of earthly salus to his people, so in turn is Christ the source of salus for him - a tree being the symbol of the salvation at both levels.

None of the traditional motifs of consolation are used directly or explicitly here. Indeed the poem is not a consolation in the pattern of those to Chilperic or to Dagaulf. The king's death is not even mentioned. Fortunatus merely says of the church:

hinc iter eius erat, cum limina sacra petebat,

quae modo pro meritis incolit ille magis.

antea nam vicibus loca sacra terebat amatus,

nunc tamen assidue templa beata tenet. (lines 19-22)

(From here he made his way when he sought the holy portals
 where now he dwells instead for his merits. For that loved
 king previously from time to time would frequent the holy
 place): now he dwells always in the blessed temple).

The poet deploys none of the conventional motifs which interpret death to the bereaved and give them guidance and comfort. The vision of a heavenly garden of Paradise and the rewards of a worthy and fruitful life are certainly stock elements of consolation (94); but Fortunatus is talking here of the garden and the apples trees next to the church Childebert built. The beautiful garden, the fruitful trees, are a constant reminder of Childebert (lines 17-18), but much of what Fortunatus is saying to Ultrogotha is said only by implication.

In a sense, the terms of a more direct and conventional consolation merely stress the loss of the dead person through the thought that the dead are receiving their reward in another life and now live happily in another place beyond mortal contact. This poem seems to reflect another aspect of grief, that of feeling the presence of the dead person in the surroundings with which he was familiar. The garden was a reminder to Ultrogotha of what Childebert did during his lifetime; but at the same time his present existence can be seen in his works and so is not remote from her. The king too is still physically present in that he now dwells in the church. He is one of the "Very Special Dead", whose tomb, with its special attributes, gives constant testimony to his continuing presence, in some sense, in this life and to his secured enjoyment of life in the world hereafter (95).

In its intent, the poem certainly amounts to a consolation. But it

does not console in the conventional format. It does not speak directly of the king's death or use any of the stock motifs. The atmospheric and evocative description of the garden, with literary echoes that probably had particular appeal to Ultrogotha, intensifies the memory of the king's presence, giving it an aura of sanctity and virtue which is transferred to his actual presence in the nearby church, thus assuring Ultrogotha of his heavenly reward and continuing spiritual presence and influence on this earth, for her comfort and that of others.

This is an interesting extension of the use of verse for consolation - interesting in that it contains none of the stock motifs, and yet consolation is clearly its object. Ultrogotha had not only been widowed but she and her daughters had been exiled and only lately recalled - with what security we do not know. The poem can be seen as a delicate and comforting consolation for all the trials of her life, with the assurance that, whatever the future may hold, what had already been achieved had eternal merit, and that she was protected by that and by Childbert's continuing presence. This poem is not limited in its thought or its expression by the genre exemplified in the previously discussed six poems and letters. Nor is it limited by the stock motifs and phrases. It is an original and imaginative piece of writing to meet a particular situation.

The variations in style in these consolations are evidence of a sensitive and adaptable response to people in widely differing circumstances. Fortunatus draws extensively on both classical and Christian motifs of consolation. But far from using the same formulae

or the same version of the traditional three sections of rhetoric (laudatio, lamentatio, consolatio), he varies and adapts the traditional patterns, as analysis of the poems and letters shows. The poem to Ultrogotha almost entirely abandons the rhetorical motifs and structure of a consolation and offers comfort with a delicate inventiveness of style. There is an almost pagan, frivolously classical tone in the Easter poem to Chilperic, which is in strong contrast to the stark theological exposition to Salutaris or the Christian interpretation given to classical ideas and phrases in the poem to Ultrogotha. Not only is there a different emphasis in the use and selection of motifs but there is a distinctive and individual purpose to each one of the consolations. Fortunatus approaches Chilperic with a powerful, emotional appeal to his sense of royal dignity and responsibility, to offer not only consolation but also to persuade him into certain courses of action. With Salutaris he argues firmly as with a person who will accept a well-substantiated conclusion and behave accordingly. The consolation for Vilithuta partly reinforces by praise certain virtuous habits (the donation of money to the church and the poor) but also conveys, especially through the long laudatio section, an impression of warmth and personal sympathy. The theological argument is there but does not stand on its own. It is effectively supported by the emotional and visual impact of the central section. The second prose letter, by contrast, is the briefest and the most formal, being little more than an acknowledgement of the death in polite and conventional terms.

2. Epitaphs

There are some forty poems by Fortunatus entitled "epitaph". They vary in length from the eight lines on Aracharius (Poem 4.19) to the thirty lines or so on Eumerius (Poem 4.1), Gallus (Poem 4.4) and others. The subjects of the epitaphs are both those who died shortly before the time of writing (Tetricus of Langres, for example, who died in 572) and also those who died long before Fortunatus even came to Gaul (Gregory of Langres, for example, who died about 539).

There is a high incidence of elaborate tombs in Merovingian Gaul at this period, especially for saints, bishops, and religious notables (96). These are to be found inside churches, crypts, and hypogea. Regional variations occur in the style and workmanship on sarcophagi. In the Rhône area, for example, imported Carrara marble was still being worked at the end of the fifth century, with a gradual decline in workmanship from then onwards. In Aquitaine, by contrast, as one would expect from consideration of the building programmes of such as Leontius of Bordeaux, workshops were active and producing high quality craftsmanship through into the eighth century (97). The skills and materials were therefore available for sizeable inscriptions and there are surviving examples of lengthy inscriptions from this period. Fortunatus himself wrote an epitaph of ~~twenty~~ ^{twenty-two} lines to Eufrosia, wife of Namatius of Vienne, which survives only in its literary form (Poem 4.27). The surviving inscribed epitaph to her husband is some thirty three lines, the authorship being unknown (98). The epitaph inscribed to Nicetius of Lyons is twenty-four lines long and composed in an elaborate literary style (99).

The great quantity of inscriptional material to be found in Fortunatus' collected works was first noted by the French epigraphist, Edmond Le Blant, and included in his Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule. It is not clear, however, that we should conclude that every epitaph composed by Fortunatus was necessarily inscribed. The so-called epitaphium to Vilithuta (Poem 4.26) is clearly a purely literary work. Many of the epitaphs collected in Book 4, however, either because of their explicit wording on the subject (100) or because of their length, can be supposed with reasonable probability to have been inscribed. In one case, that of Bishop Chalactarius of Chartres, the tomb with its brief inscription was discovered in 1703 (101) and yet we have a second epitaph composed by Fortunatus (Poem 4.7)

On occasion Fortunatus composed verses to be painted or engraved on the walls of churches. Instructions are given, for example, to Syagrius about the painting of an acrostic on a church wall (poem 5.6. sect. 14 ff.). Fortunatus also wrote verses for Gregory of Tours, to be subscribed under paintings on the walls of the church of St. Martin of Tours (Poem 10.6) and there are other similar examples (102). So, although we have the brief epitaph inscribed on Chalactarius' sarcophagus, we need not necessarily conclude that the phrase in the epitaph by Fortunatus, ecce sub hoc tumulo (line 9) is misleading. The longer and more literary epitaph may well have been painted or engraved on a wall by the tomb. Since none of Fortunatus' epitaphs are much longer or more elaborate than the known inscriptions, there is no reason to conclude that they were not inscribed or painted on or near the tomb. This conclusion is supported by the comment of one

manuscript (Σ) on the title of the epitaph of the Ruricii, bishops of Limoges:

Item epitaphium super sepulchra episcoporum domnorum
Ruricorum Lemovecas.

(Poem 4.5)

(The epitaph above the tomb of the Ruricii, the lord
bishops of Limoges).

The title may only be the guesswork of a scribe but he at least did not find the supposition inappropriate.

Epitaphs played a significant role in Merovingian society and must be seen in the context in which they were written. In those times, as earlier, commemoration of the dead was part of the ritual of mourning, and a family duty in that it ensured that the life and achievements of members of the family were not forgotten. Sidonius, for example, writing an epitaph for his forefather, Apollinaris (103), displays his pietas in the traditional Roman sense of that word, while at the same time advertising the standing of the family as a whole. In addition to the traditional pagan reasons for such a commemoration, it was important to a Christian in that the duty reminded him to seek the intercession of the "Very Special Dead" and to include the dead amongst his prayers.

In the Gallican Mass the names of the faithful departed were read out after the consecration and a special requiem mass was offered on the day of burial (104) and at the tomb itself for "the month's

mind" (105). Mass was also said on the occasion of "the year's mind" in some cases. As nowadays, the duty of prayers for the dead was sometimes taken very seriously. Gregory mentions, for example, a widow at Lyons who had a daily mass said for her late husband's soul (106).

In parallel with the fulfillment of these family obligations, it was the duty of a bishop to bury his episcopal colleagues, and, on occasion, other clergy and religious. Gregory himself, in the absence of Bishop Maroveus of Poitiers, officiated at the funeral of Radegund (107). A bishop would celebrate the mass at "the year's mind" of his predecessor and perhaps also see that a suitable tomb and inscription were provided (108). These episcopal epitaphs might display the pietas of the donor and also have a political purpose behind them. Three of Fortunatus' epitaphs are to members of Gregory's family - to Gregory of Langres (Poem 4.2) (109), to Tetricus of Langres (Poem 4.3) (110), and to Gallus of Clermont-Ferrand (Poem 4.4) (111) - and indirectly commemorating the high dignity of his forefathers. The poems written in connection with Leontius of Bordeaux show the range of family commemoration. The daughter of the elder Ruricius, commemorated by Fortunatus in Poem 4.5, married Agricola, son of Eparchius Avitus, and was probably an ancestress of Placidina, wife of Leontius of Bordeaux and great-granddaughter of Avitus. Arcadius iovenis, commemorated in Poem 4.17, was also possibly a relative of Placidina (112). An epitaph is composed for Leontius himself, at Placidina's request (Poem 4.10). As an example of political motivation, the epitaph to Eumerius of Nantes (Poem 4.1), commissioned by his son and successor Felix, not only identifies Felix' pietas but also advertises his right, by birth

and by virtue, to hold the office (see especially lines 31-32).

The virtues of the dead are lauded at some length. To some extent these qualities are conventional and do not seem to reflect any vivid or individual characteristics. Such verses, from the nature of the genre and the occasion, tend to produce a public and conventional image. The extent to which Fortunatus was indebted to earlier examples of elegy has been discussed by Kopp, Manitius, and Blomgren (113). As Blomgren observes, many of the phrases in earlier elegies are indeed found in the poet, but, given the circumscribed topic and metre, this is hardly suprising. Only the more striking similarities or variants may suggest the extent to which the poet followed or adapted the work of his predecessors. Of the eleven bishops commemorated, seven are praised for their noble lineage, five for their eloquence, six for being placidus, eight for protecting the needy and the weak. But Gallus is singled out for special mention of his spiritual qualities (Poem 4.4.5-28), a characterisation which accords with Gregory's account of him (114). Chalact~~erious~~ is commended for his interest in music (Poem 4.7.15-16), Exocius (Poem 4.6.1-6) and Cronopus (Poem 4.8. 23-24) for what they have done to earn the special gratitude of the people. The epitaph on Leontius of Bordeaux (Poem 4.10), emphasising his noble lineage, his high political status, his intellectual gifts and energy as a builder and renovator of churches, echoes in its content and elevated tone the panegyric to the bishop and seems to reflect his character and interest in an equally distinctive style. The epitaph to Bobolenus, the deacon, makes no mention of his character and life but is a poem of outrage at his murder, threatening

his murderer with punishment. This outburst seems to have only a single parallel, epitaphs in general adopting a more decorous tone towards the indignities of life (115). Basil, with his wife Baudegund founder of a church to St. Martin (Poem 1.7), is portrayed in detail as a valued diplomat and courtier, generous to the church and the poor (he had plenty of money and did not steal!). Avolus too was non usurae avidus (Poem 4.21.9-10) and Iulianus, a mercator, was a successful business man but charitable and discreet in his gifts to the needy (Poem 4.23.5-14). These virtues are conventional to an extent; and the presentation of birth, qualities and achievements often echoes the eulogistic pattern of panegyric (116). But they often have a lively and individual flavour which gives the impression of real knowledge of the people and the skill and interest to represent them with some accuracy.

In style the epitaphs draw heavily on the familiar motifs of consolation (117). The attitude to death is, like that of the consolations to Dagaulf and Chilperic, one of resolute optimism. Life eternal is certain (118) and grief is inappropriate (119). The style is more vivid, complex and literary than that of many inscriptions. The epitaph on Namatius of Vienne already mentioned is composed largely of lists of adjectives or adjectival phrases. The attributes are conventional and the presentation of them monotonous (120). The epitaph Fortunatus wrote for Namatius' wife, in contrast, has a lively variety of grammatical structures. The theme that Eufrasia still lives on after death is given conviction by the use of verbs in the present

tense throughout, rather than adjectives, and by the direct address to her. For example, line four speaks to her:

nec mihi flenda manes, cum tibi laeta places
 (you are not here for me to mourn, since your joy makes you
 happy).

The vigour of style, the personal evocation can be seen throughout the series of epitaphs. Ideas possibly reflecting common visual motifs strengthen the evocative power of the verses: the palm of victory in Poem 4.3.1-2, for example, and the tableau of the Fall in Poem 4.4.1-4 (121). Wordplay, such as that in Poem 4.4 on testis/antistes in line 5 and urna/ulna in line 32, with the use of antithesis in Poem 4.7.1-7, enliven the verses. Often a member of the family is portrayed as offering this tribute (as, for example, in Poems 4.9, 10, 12, and 23) but in a few cases Fortunatus presents the epitaph as a personal tribute from himself, a presentation which lends conviction to the feelings expressed. Of Chalactonicus he says:

dum modo, qui volui vivo, dabo verba sepulto,
 carmine vel dulci cogor amara loqui.
 digne tuis meritis, Chalactonice sacerdos,
 tarde note mihi, quam cito, care, fugis.

(Poem 4. .3-6)

(whilst I will address words to you in your tomb, I who
 wished to speak to you alive, am forced to use even
 sweet verse to express my sadness. You who are graced by

your merits, Chalacienus, priest, known to me too late,
how swiftly you have fled, dear one.)

The alliteration (volui vivo ... verba, and cito, care) and the three antitheses (vivo ... sepulto, dulci ... amara, tarde note ... cito care) also give crispness to the expression. And in two other cases he requests the intercession of the dead on his own behalf, a conventional but personal touch (122).

The epitaphs, as the consolations did, illustrate Fortunatus' role in Merovingian society. His work enables his patrons to be seen to carry out their Christian and familial obligations in the true Roman literary and epigraphic tradition. The range of those commemorated reflects the patterns of patronage and political contact found in the other poems. There is a concentration among the Gallo-Roman episcopal families in Aquitaine, mainly through the connection with Gregory, but also a scatter among Franks and throughout the Merovingian kingdoms. By comparison with other known inscriptions these epitaphs are well-written, lively, a convincing tribute to the dead they commemorate. The stock motifs of the genre are only a starting point. Fortunatus shows even within this highly restricted format a lightness and sureness of touch, which comes from creative adaptation of the tradition.

CHAPTER SIX

POEMS TO WOMEN

In this and in the following two chapters, consideration of Fortunatus' poems and his work as a poet will be based on poems grouped, not by genre, but by their recipients. There are not sufficient poems of any one other genre to make that former categorisation useful, as it was in the case of the panegyrics, consolations and epitaphs. Analysis of all the poems to a certain group of patrons, however, offers further insight into Fortunatus' work as a poet. The following chapters will discuss poems to bishops and to nobles. In this chapter we will consider poems to women, a gender classification and one of greater generality than the others but one which is necessary because of the smaller number of women patrons and because of their less clearly defined public role in society.

Fortunatus' poems probably reflect a greater diversity of interests and activity in women than in any poems written earlier or for a long time afterwards, a diversity which reflects the comparative freedom and power which upper-class women at least (who, after all, were Fortunatus' patrons) enjoyed at that period (1). But at the same time the roles of "queen" or "bishop's wife" do not carry with them the same public and detailed image or ideal that "king" or "bishop" do,

and there is no specific role image for other women who cannot be identified by any public function. Though women can be differentiated, the general common denominator of female attributes is more marked in contributing to an individual's image than any comparable gender image is in the case of men.

We therefore have a more demanding task in considering poems to women. The actual details of their lives, the roles they played, are less prominent and well-defined than in the case of men. The characteristic distinguishing between one individual and another, or between individuals in one role and those in another, which Fortunatus clearly responds to sensitively in the poems considered so far, are less easy to trace beyond the general stereotypes of female virtues.

In previous chapters it has been important to examine poems in their historical and social context. Here, because there are fewer poems to women and because there is less detailed information about particular individuals, it is equally important to set the context of particular poems. At the same time, this consideration is also more necessary than in the case of poems to men because of the tendency here to anachronistic gender stereotyping in writers on this subject, which has often picked up the strong element of Christian female characterisation, still prevalent today, and overlooked the important details of differentiation.

Bezzola, for example, identified a significant change in emphasis and focus in Fortunatus' poems to women (2). The Augustan poets, he observes, address women as mistresses, as recipients of love poems. In contrast, the poet of the eleventh century - Baudri de Bourgueil, for

example - addresses the great lady with deferential and distant adoration, in terms consonant with those of hymns to the Virgin and troubadours' songs of courtly love. Bezzola sees Fortunatus as the turning point in this literary transformation. In his poems

Ce n'est pas la femme object du désir sensuel des élégiaques latins, mais ce n'est pas non plus la froide statue majestueuse qu'on enceuse dans les dithyrambes officiels: c'est quelque chose de nouveau, une femme dont le poète s'approche avec une certaine tendresse de sentiment et qu'il n'ose cependant point désirer, car le désir détruirait ce qu'elle a de plus digne d'amour: son intangible pureté (3).

Bezzola sees the poems to Radegund and Agnes, above all, as instancing this mystical tenderness. Radegund, still seen as a queen though she has renounced her earthly status, the spiritual mother, and Agnes, her spiritual daughter, are addressed in terms of love and longing. This not the sexual love of the classical elegiacs but the sublimated and and transmuted mystical love, found in its most intense expression in Fortunatus' poem De virginitate (Poem 8.3) and stemming from the idealisation of women created by the Marian cult.

Sedulius and Avitus of Vienne, amongst others, are writers who offer a strong tradition to Fortunatus on this point (4).

This view of the role of women seen through literature, however, seems too sweeping, too simplistic and too cavalier in its treatment of the great variety of women's daily interests and occupations. There is some trace in earlier secular writing of a less narrow view of

women (5). Ausonius, among erotic epigrams, writes tributes to various female members of his family in his Parentalia. His tribute to his wife betrays feeling which is neither the passion of an elegy nor the sublimated mysticism of Marian eulogy. Nor indeed is she "la froide statue majestueuse". She was

laeta, pudica, gravis, genus inclita et inclita forma,
et dolor et decus coniugis Ausonii

(Parent. 9.23-24)

(cheerful, modest, staid, famed for high birth as for beauty,
you were the grief and the glory of your husband, Ausonius),

a loved wife and mother. His sister and other female relatives too are praised for solid, well-appreciated Christian housewifely characteristics. Selection from Christian religious writing, especially that in praise of the Virgin, will naturally draw out that particular strand of the idealised and visionary view of women. While this element is plainly present in Fortunatus' De virginitate, and in many of the poems to Radegund and Agnes, the poems should not be subsumed under this one simple view of women without more detailed examination. Fortunatus' role as a poet in relation to his male patrons in Merovingian society is complex, varying with personality and circumstance. There is no single view of "man" or "a king" or "a bishop". Fortunatus observes and responds sensitively and imaginatively, in both Christian and secular terms. Before accepting that the poet's reaction to his female patrons was any less individual, as Bezzola's thesis would imply, we must look more closely at the

historical context and at the particular poems and the women addressed.

The role of women in Merovingian society has been greatly illuminated by recent work (6). The Merovingian kingdom of Clovis was founded upon a Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, a Gallo-Roman administration, and a Frankish military retinue. In this masculine and military world there is a strong emphasis upon women as nurturing child-bearers, dependent upon the males of the family. The prescriptions of Salic law set a high value upon women as childbearers, protecting them from physical harm during the years of fertility and defending their honour as passive and defenceless members of society. This attitude was reinforced by the Roman legal tradition which saw women as dependent upon fathers or husbands, and by the general patristic view of women as less rational, less morally responsible than men (7). In contemporary literature women are often seen through stereotypes of obedience and nurturing. Balthild, for example, the wife of Clovis II, a powerful and active woman who acted influentially as regent for her son and as patron of the church, is yet characterised in a female stereotype at odds with the facts, as obedient and gently amiable (8).

In spite of this general background, the legal and social advancement of women was significant during this period. Intermarriage between Franks and Gallo-Romans and the mutual influence of Frankish and Roman custom and law in matrimonial and family law resulted in an improvement in women's conditions. Women in Gallo-Roman families were no longer treated as perpetual minors. Though formal marriages were usually arranged with parental consent, living together publicly was

recognised as establishing a legal union, a custom which gave women greater security and independence (9). Girls in Germanic families were no longer sold, the brideprice being transformed into a dos which provided for the woman's economic security. In Gallo-Roman families, the girl continued to receive a dowry and a gift from the groom before the consummation of the marriage, thus also gaining some security.

Once married, women were active partners with their husbands in economic and social matters, even when subject to Roman law. A woman was able to inherit the personal belongings of female relatives. Such inheritance, in addition to her trousseau (which could on occasion contain much valuable jewellery and clothes) could provide her with considerable personal wealth (10). She could also inherit from males by testamentary bequest: Bertram of Bordeaux' sister, for example, became a rich woman on her brother's death (11). As a widow or a divorcee through no fault of her own, a woman could gain full control of her dowry, her morgengabe and at least one third of her husband's land. She could thus assume her husband's rights to a large extent, hold and administer property, and be guardian of minors, male and female.

Though the law and custom of Merovingian society emphasised the biological function and sexual nature of women, nevertheless women had the freedom and economic independence in many cases to play a variety of roles of their own choosing. Those who used their opportunities well had more power than women in the earlier Germanic tribes, or the late Roman empire, or in the later Carolingian period. It was more common for women than for men to be upwardly mobile. They could be as well educated as men of the same class (12).

The wife of a noble had access to moveable wealth, which she was able to use in issuing donations jointly with her husband, founding monasteries, building churches and oratories, cultivating political ties with the church or through family alliances, and administering the family estates in her husband's absence (13). A queen could make careful use of her wealth and personal ties: she could have her own residences and retainers, take part in assemblies, issue donations and privileges, influence secular officials and episcopal elections and policy, and use her treasury to establish a network of personal loyalties (14). As a widow and regent, a queen could assume virtually sole responsibility for the policy and administration of a kingdom. Brunhild, for example, made moves to prevent the marriages, first of her son, and then of her grandson, thus retaining her power as queen-mother. This enabled her not only to protect herself, but, more positively, to be able to continue the direction of the kingdom, herself developing the policies initiated whilst Sigibert was still alive, of international ties with the East and with the Visigothic kingdom of the West, and thus acting as a key figure in Austrasian politics (15). The ties such women effected as queens could then be used to protect themselves if need be, or to enable them to act independently. The career of Radegund, successfully establishing her independence from Lothar, is a good example of the political support and practical protection the church could be persuaded to give to such a woman in the religious life.

In ecclesiastical matters, the church had gradually been moving since the third century towards the celibacy of the clergy, and a

disparagement of marriage and of women. During the sixth century in particular there was a marked decrease in the influence of women in church affairs. The socio-economic advantages of an ecclesiastical career were then such that there were enough men willing to take up a life in the church. Reservations about women now moved from the earlier ground of the implication of heresy, if they should be closely involved in the administration of the sacraments, or the imputation of bossiness, if they were in positions of authority, to the more fundamental objections of ritual impurity, deriving from the very nature of women and raising questions about any rights whatsoever for women in the church, with fears of pollution should they have any close contact with the sacraments (16). Few deaconesses are known in the sixth century, by comparison with earlier centuries. Both in his biography of Radegund and in his poems to her, Fortunatus implies that her status was that of a deaconess, her life dedicated to abstinence, charity and prayer (17). But at the Council of Orleans in 533, and at that of Tours in 567, women were disqualified from all clerical office and the status of widows was degraded. By the canons of these councils women were no longer to be consecrated and could take only a private vow of abstinence (18). Women trying to exercise active ministry were sometimes humiliated and ridiculed (19). As the celibacy of the clergy was more generally enforced, those women married to the higher clergy were denigrated and defamed if they attempted to remain with their husbands, or left as single parents, with little access to their husband's support, if they consented to separate (20).

On the other hand, female monasticism was growing, offering a life

of independence and self-determination, but was not yet in the sixth century sufficiently well-established to draw the concerted attention of the church to regulate it, as happened later. Many communities grew up around oratories and basilicas, financed by wealthy women who wished to become religious, and attracting, often against their families' wishes, many less fortunately placed women who felt drawn to such a life (21). By the end of the sixth century there was a wide scatter of such communities in every urban centre.

These communities put into practice the view expressed by Caesarius of Arles at the beginning of the century that women had the same spiritual potential as men (22). A high level of education was encouraged in such communities, especially in those living under the Rule of Caesarius (23). They possessed libraries, the pattern of life often included hours given over to reading every day; nuns were copyists, librarians and writers. Baudonivia's biography of Radegund offers a portrait of the sort of woman who could flourish in such circumstances: an outgoing, strong-willed person, with good administrative ability and political interest and flair in handling not only the affairs of the community, but even those of the kingdom.

Fortunatus was therefore writing and seeking patronage at a time when, to a greater extent than in the earlier classical or the later Carolingian worlds, women had a degree of social and economic independence. This is especially true of those sections of the community where Fortunatus sought patronage, the upper classes of wealthy and often well-educated women, who, like the men, would be interested in having their virtues and achievements recognised in a

prestigious literary form. Fortunatus is an antifeminist in the mainstream tradition when he speaks of women generally as sexus inferior (Poem 10.2.7) or congratulates Felix of Nantes on his escape to a life of celibacy (Poem 3.8.29-31). But he is a working poet and his poems to women reflect as realistically as those to men their position in society, and their interests and ambitions.

There is a wide range of such poems: the poems to Brunhild, alone or with a king: the epithalamium (Poem 6.1), the panegyric (Poem 6.1a), and Poems 10.7, 10.9, 10.11, Appendix 5 and 6; poems mentioning the queens Fredegund (Poems 9.1, 2 and 3), Galswinth (Poem 6.5), Ultrogotha (Poem 6.6), Theudechild I (Poem 4.25), Theodechild II (Poem 6.3) and the princess Berthoara (Poem 2.11). There are also poems about aristocratic women: Berthechild (Poem 6.4), Eufrasia (Poem 4.27), Vilithuta (Poem 4.26), Eusebia (Poem 6.28), Berethrud (Poem 2.8), Placidina, wife of Leontius (Poems 1.6, 1.12, 1.14, 1.15, 1.17) and Palatina (Poem 7.6). But the majority of the poems to women are written to or for the two women who, with Gregory, were the most influential people in Fortunatus' life - Radegund and Agnes.

1. Poems to royal women

The signal event of the marriage between Sigibert and Brunhild, occasioned by far-sighted diplomatic policies and celebrated with great style and panache, was a great opportunity for the newly-arrived poet to show his worth. For this occasion Fortunatus wrote a full-scale epithalamium, De domno Sigibercto rege et Brunchilde

regina , laden with overtones of literary celebrations of dynastic alliances from the Roman past.

Three distinct traditions are found in the early Greek epithalamia: the lyric tradition, exemplified above all by Sappho, the epic tradition, seen in the epithalamium of Theocritus for Helen, and the rhetorical tradition, set out in the precepts of Menander in his second Treatise. The lyric epithalamia, often spoken by a group of youths and one of girls, address themselves to the topics of the propitious nature of the occasion, the praise of the splendour of the groom and the beauty of the bride, and the merits and demerits of marriage. The epic tradition, written in hexameters and heavily influenced by Sappho, contains these topics and, in addition, the adlocutio sponsalis, a homily to the couple on, for example, the propagation of children and the virtues of harmonious living. The rhetorical tradition developed precepts for a prose version of this address. Menander recommends that the epithalamium, after an appropriate introduction, should deal with the institution of marriage itself, deliver an encomium on the bridal pair and their families, speak of the hope for children from the marriage, and end with prayers. This address is followed by a short kateunastikos, a bedroom speech (24).

The prose tradition was not followed much in Roman literature, though the influence of its topics and structure can be seen. The strong lyric influence of Sappho can be seen in the epithalamium of Catullus and in the later works of Ausonius, Martianus Capella and others. These, however, appear to be literary, rather than practical examples of the genre. The hexameter epithalamium in the epic

tradition is the version most widely adopted by Roman writers, Statius being an early and influential example. These are written often for actual wedding ceremonies. Two schools of writing can be identified here, the one deriving from the example of the epithalamium of Statius, the other harking back to Greek exemplars. Of the latter, the main instances are Dracontius and Luxorius, both of whom lean heavily on the Greek tradition and write verse laden with mythological embellishments. In the former school, the work of Statius is followed by Claudian, by Sidonius, Ennodius, and by Fortunatus. Venus, in these poems, is the presiding deity and, in the epithalamia of Claudian and Sidonius, also delivers the adlocutio sponsalis. The influence of rhetorical structures can be seen in these poems. They begin with an introduction, setting the scene; though they then omit the general exposition on marriage, they maintain the encomia on the bride and groom, Ennodius and Claudian also preserving the recommended reference to the season of the year (25).

Of the Christian poets, Ennodius praises Maximus for his chastity and allows Amor to introduce the ideal of celibacy and the mastery of the desires of the flesh (26). Paulinus of Nola is the only writer to produce an uncompromisingly anti-pagan epithalamium (Poem 25). Juno, Cupido and Venus are explicitly banished (line 10); the sponsor is Christ (line 152). The usual bridal customs - the joyful procession through the streets, the decoration of the house, the perfumes and presents - are rejected. Menander describes the logos kateunastikos as a προτροπή πρὸς τὴν συμπελοκίην ; this epithalamium is an ἐπιτροπή , its object being vincere carnis opus (line 8). A long central section (lines 153-184) celebrates virginity and chastity; instead of the

wishes for offspring at the end of the poem, the wish is ut nescia carnis membra gerant (lines 234-235). The structure of the poem is also modified to place the emphasis on life according to saintly virtue, rather than on the happiness and wellbeing of the two individuals concerned (27).

But this exception to the pattern of the other Christian epithalamia, which hold fast to the pagan poetic and rhetorical traditions, is not followed by Fortunatus. In content and structure he follows closely the work of Claudian, Sidonius and others.

The prologue, written in elegiac couplets after the example of Claudian and Sidonius, heralds the occasion according to rhetorical precepts (lines 1-24) (28). As Menander advises, Fortunatus draws a lush, idyllic picture of the springtime when the wedding takes place, as the propitious setting for the event:

*sic modo cuncta favent, dum prosperitate superna
regia Caesareo proficit aula iugo.*

(lines 15-16)

(thus all things ~~now~~ look with favour, whilst the royal palace
waxes in heavenly prosperity through Caesar's marriage) (29).

Claudian's epithalamium for Honorius and Maria centres the pastoral idyll of fruitful spring in the paradise of Venus (30). Fortunatus follows the example of Draconius, Ennodius and others in transferring that ~~paradisiacal~~ spring to earth as the scene of a mortal wedding (31). The alternating choruses of youths and girls found in Sappho latterly survive only in the form of a dialogue between Cupid and

Venus, Cupid praising the groom and Venus the bride (32). This dialogue had assumed more and more importance, the goal being to prove the two equal in merit (33). In Fortunatus' epithalamium the contest absorbs almost the entire poem and is explicitly called a lis (line 66).

The rural deities found in many of the later epithalamia are, however, absent in Fortunatus' poem. Pan, Bacchus, Silenus and the assortment of nymphs and dryads make no appearance (34). Fortunatus moves the mythology into the more decorous and elevated level of Venus and Cupid. Mars is introduced (line 20), Sigibert is termed an alter Achilles (line 50) and Brunhild compared with the Nereids, to their detriment (lines 104-106). But the more raucous and rustic deities are absent.

There are two close verbal echoes of Augustan nature-writing (35), and the general picture of luxuriant nature is a familiar one. As Reydellet observes in his comment on this poem (36), the strong influence of Claudian's epithalamium for Honorius and Maria can be seen not only in the form and content of the poem as a whole, but also in the imperial overtones given to this Merovingian wedding. The adjective Caesareus (line 16) is only once used elsewhere in Fortunatus and there with factual justification, of Placidina, wife of Leontius of Bordeaux and descendant of the emperor Avitus (37). In this context the epithet underlines the grand pretensions of this marriage, pretensions which are stressed again later by the description of the king as cardui occidui dominans (line 79). This exaggerated description of the most easterly of the Merovingian kingdoms gives overtones of an empire of the West, further suggested

by the unique use in Fortunatus of imperare in connection with a Merovingian king (line 82) and of triumphare (lines 76 and 92). Reydellet also observes that line 88 recalls the famous saying of Titus: perdere plura putat, si non concesserit ampla (38). Mars is therefore in line 20 a suitable deity to convene the leaders, rather than any of the bucolic gods more familiar to an epithalamium.

So the wording of the prologue, the idyllic setting given to the wedding, and the imperial status imputed to Sigibert all present the occasion as a grand dynastic alliance, to be celebrated as Claudian celebrated that of the *Western* empire.

The development of the epithalamium begins with a statement of Sigibert's freedom from other attachments, his chastity and his wish to beget legitimate heirs (lines 25-36). The explanation of this curious declaration lies in Gregory's account of the reason for the wedding: Sigibert's repudiation of the various casual and complicated liaisons of his brothers as not being a proper way for a king to provide stability for his kingdom (39). The passage also includes a reminiscence of the thoughts of Amor in Ennodius' epithalamium on the subject of chastity, thoughts which stem from the precepts of Christian morality but ~~lack~~ the wholesale rejection of all pagan elements made by Paulinus of Nola. The explicit and serious tone of this passage is underlined by a close verbal echo of a passage in Vergil where the poet draws a picture of a sober and upright household (40). Implicitly the passage presents Sigibert as a truly Christian ruler and, in addition, reassures the Visigothic kingdom that Brunhild will be treated with all dignity and honour and as having the exclusive right to the title of Sigibert's queen, the kind

of right not all Merovingian queens could claim. Here it is possible to see again the parallel with Claudian, in that Fortunatus too is writing a rhetorical epithalamium and, in the rhetorical tradition, using what he says to convey a political message. This marriage is a carefully planned political move and undertaken with every serious dynastic intent.

Fortunatus then depicts Cupid roaming the earth and transfixing Sigibert with his arrow (lines 37-46). Inhaesit flamma medullis (line 42) recalls Vergil's phrase in connection with amor - subdita flamma medullis (Georg. 3.271) - though presumably without any transfer of the Vergilian context. Nec nocte sopora (line 43) also has a ring of the Vergilian noctisque soporae of Aeneid 6, line 390. Moreover, Cupid with his arrows directed at the king recalls the wounds of Love suffered by Honorius in Claudian's epithalamium (De nuptiis Honor. Aug. 5-7). Like Honorius, Sigibert is lovelorn for the best attested classical reasons.

Cupid announces to Venus the love Sigibert and Brunhild feel for each other, comparing Sigibert with appropriate epic dignity to Achilles in line 50, a reference which is reinforced by the echoes of Statius' Achilleid throughout the poem (41). Then the two deities enter into the traditional lis to sing the praises of the bride and groom (lines 47-131). Cupid draws attention to Sigibert's noble ancestry, his military prowess (he was the only one of the brothers to fight against foreign forces), and his peaceful and prosperous reign. As in the prologue, Sigibert's own legitimacy and his intention to beget legitimate royal heirs is stressed, a statement of Christian integrity and of the political policies behind the marriage in marked contrast

to the illegitimate Chilperic and his erratic unions (lines 69-73, cf. line 143). Throughout the passage are reminders of Vergil, Claudian, Sedulius and, above all, Statius (42). Venus then ends the poem in proper fashion by declaring the two worthy of each other and blessing their union as the source of peace and royal children in the future (lines 132-143).

Fortunatus here follows closely the rhetorical and epic tradition of the epithalamium, following Claudian in particular both verbally and structurally. The comparative density of verbal reminiscence of Claudian and earlier poets, in contrast with his later poems, perhaps indicates the immaturity of a young poet who is still working closely from influential and formative literary models. One distinctive feature of Fortunatus' poetry is the pervasive fusion of classical literary forms and thoughts with a strong Christian viewpoint, as in the panegyrics to Chilperic and to Charibert. Sigibert and Brunhild do not appear in later poems as pagan rulers. On the contrary, they are invoked as two of the spiritual referees for Gregory in 573 when he takes up his bishopric (43).

Fortunatus has to hand the example of the uncompromisingly Christian epithalamium of Paulinus of Nola, pursuing with vigour the ideals of chastity and virginity. Fortunatus, however, never fails to show a strong grasp of practical and political realities. To offer such a vision of the married state to a king, the stability of whose reign depended to a considerable degree on the rapid production of male heirs, would have been a nonsense. Marriage, with its accompanying customs and literary appendages, is an institution based on the deep rooted human instinct to survive by reproduction of the species. The

strength of this instinct can perhaps be seen as manifesting itself in a general reluctance to risk giving up any of the paraphernalia of marriage which, by lore and custom, ensure the fertility and success of the marriage. For this reason, perhaps, the pagan literary tradition with its gods of fertility and blessings in love, is more resistant than any other literary genre to Christian modification. Paulinus' epithalamium is not a blessing on marriage as commonly understood. It has been suggested that Fortunatus avoided any overtly Christian tones in his poem for Sigibert and Brunhild because Brunhild was still an Arian at the time of the ceremony (44). This may to some extent be the case, as it was perhaps also the case in the consolation on Galswinth (Poem 6.5); but Fortunatus is surely continuing the existing Christian tradition of all Latin writers except Paulinus in maintaining the mythological apparatus. To have followed Paulinus would have been impossible. But Fortunatus gives the king and queen the resonant decorous blessing of the main Latin literary tradition, selecting appropriate deities, creating a complimentary epic atmosphere, and following Ennodius in praising the king as a truly Christian ruler for his chaste and virtuous behaviour. Within the bounds of the genre and the circumstances, it is difficult to see what the suggestion that Fortunatus could have written a "Christian" epithalamium actually means.

Are
Arians now
kings?

In this poem Brunhild and Sigibert are presented as a royal couple with the imperial stature of Honorius and Maria, as they are in the following encomium, Poem 6.1a, though Brunhild by that time has been converted and her image is more completely that of the Christian consort. In both poems, Sigibert is using the poet, in spite of his

relative youth and inexperience, as an important dimension of what he is trying to achieve politically and culturally in his marriage. But, more than that, in both poems Brunhild plays a central role, her image reflecting, as Maria's did, her very real political importance and foreshadowing her great influence on the Merovingian kingdoms in years to come.

The same blend of traditional motifs and political purpose has already been identified in the poem of consolation on the death of Galswinth, written shortly afterwards (Poem 6.5). Speaking here as a voice from Sigibert's kingdom, probably at the instigation of Radegund, Fortunatus expresses the sorrow of Galswinth's mother and sister at the tragedy. The epic tone of the poem, with its echoes of Dido's tragedy, removes the death from the sordid realism of murder and vengeance to the rarified level of irrevocabilis sors, which must be accepted with resignation. The vehicle of a consolation, with such high epic overtones, gives this advice dignity and conviction by its association with Roman ways and values. At the same time, the depth of concern, and the delicacy with which it is expressed, reflect Galswinth's importance.

Both this poem and the epithalamium are tied closely to grandiose classical genres, in contrast with the various panegyrics, which are more radically adapted. Both women are seen as epic heroines, Galswinth as a noble queen in the style of Dido, Brunhild as an empress, while Fortunatus plays the part of a Claudian. Neither Brunhild nor Galswinth is the mistress and lover of Augustan lyric and elegy, though the epithalamium dwells on Brunhild's beauty in

conventional fashion (45). Nor are they the pure and idealised courtly ladies of later literature. Brunhild's beauty and character, like those of Ausonius' female relatives, are part of her qualifications as a wife and potential mother. Neither presents an image of great individuality, any more than Sigibert himself does in Poems 6.1 and 6.1a. They are no more and no less Bezzola's froides statues majestueuses than men of comparable rank, since the poems perform a political role in which only a certain level of general characteristics is relevant. But it is important to note that this applies equally to the king and queen and that Brunhild plays a part very much more equal to Sigibert than Maria does to Honorius. She appears as a powerful and influential person, an image which reflects the political capital invested in this marriage and, as it transpired, Brunhild's very real power and ability. Similarly, Galswinth, in her sad misfortune, is mourned in the consciousness that her death has serious national and international implications.

Sigibert was murdered in 575. Brunhild, after a brief marriage to Merovech which ended with his death in 578, held political control of the kingdom officially as queen regent until Childebert II came of age. Even afterwards she had great influence over the formation of policy (46). Childebert came of age at some time between 588 and 591 (47), a change of status carefully reflected in Fortunatus' poetry. His poem on the enthronement of Plato as Bishop of Poitiers in 591 (Poem 10.14) mentions Childebert alone by name, whilst listing the queen among other members of the royal family (48). In addition, Poem 10.17, which celebrates Count Sigoald's banquet for the poor, is in

the name of the king alone and probably dates from this time. The banquet may even be a celebration of the king's coming of age (49). Earlier poems, however, make equal mention of Brunhild and Childbert or even concentrate on Brunhild. Poem 10.7, ad Childeberchthun regem et Brunhildem reginam, de natali sancti Martini pontificis Toronici, probably written about the time of the Treaty of Andlot in 587, speaks of Childebert in the third person only (line 61 ff.), whilst addressing Brunhild directly (50). She is celebrated as mater and ava and Fortunatus addresses to her wishes for her life in the Christian faith (Poem 10.8). *This encomium to Childebert and Brunhild*, written about the same time, also lays stress on Brunhild's responsibility for the safety and prosperity of the kingdom. The power and status of Brunhild and Faileuba are seen in the fact that they are party to the treaty, together with the kings, Guntram and Childebert. Brunhild had broken Childebert's engagement to the Bavarian princess, Theudolinda, but accepted instead his marriage to Faileuba, a woman possibly of low birth and so less threatening to the queen's position (51). The dominance of Brunhild is reflected in the fact that Fortunatus addresses Brunhild and Childebert jointly as heads of the royal family in the encomium.

In Poem 10.9 Fortunatus implies, through the use of plural nouns, that he is addressing both the king and the queen when he speaks of his value as a court poet:

regibus occurrens ubi Mettica moenia pollent,
visus et a dominis ipse retentor equo.

(lines 1-2)

(meeting the rulers where the walls of Metz stand strong,
I was seen and was taken on horseback into their retinue).

Poem 10.11, Versus in mensa in villa S. Martini ante discriptores,
dated by Meyer to 589 (52), still reflects the dual power of Brunhild
and Childebert in its reference to them:

ergo sub incolumi Childebercht~~ho~~ ac Brunichilde
quos tribuit celsos regna ~~fovere~~ deus

(lines 25-26)

(thus under the secure rule of Childebert and Brunhild,
the lofty rulers God has granted to nurture the kingdom).

The two other poems to Childebert and Brunhild, Appendix 5 and 6, are
dated by Reydellet convincingly to 584/5 (53). These are addressed
separately to the prince and the queen. The alliteration used in
Appendix 5 to Childebert -

digne nec indignans, dignos dignatio dignans,
florum flos florens, florea flore fluens

(lines 9-10)

(worthy one, not considering unworthy, a dignity dignifying
the worthy, flourishing flower of flowers, burgeoning
beautifully with blooms) -

does not merit the outrage of Tardi (54). As Reydellet observes, the
poem is addressed to a fourteen year old. The lines may even evoke

Christian ideas, bringing to mind the rose of love (55); but, in any case, the teasing tone of this alliteration nicely deflates the severity of the first lines:

rex regionis apex et supra regna regimen,
 qui caput es capitum, vir capitale bonum
 (O, king, pinnacle of the realm, moderator over the kingdom,
 you who are the head of heads, the man who is the
 chief good),

though these lines themselves are full of verbal conceits. Appendix 6, De Brunichilde regina, addresses her as the great queen, the head of a dynasty whose power spreads throughout the Western world:

regia progenies, praecelsi et mater honoris,
 (line 1)
 (royal offspring, mother of an eminent power).

This, the only poem addressed solely to her, echoes the message of the epithalamium. There is an irony here. It was Sigibert's intention to marry well and ensure his family's standing and stability. It is Brunhild who survived to achieve this.

The poems to Brunhild are a reflection of her active and positive political role. She is seen side by side with her husband in the epithalamium, in the panegyric, and as a referee for Gregory of Tours. After her husband's death, she emerges as a more powerful individual

in her own right. She survives - avoiding the fate of, for example, Theudechild (56). Her political acumen and influence, her position as Merovich's wife and then Childebert's mother gave her, as Nelson has shown (57), a control and influence on contemporary life equal to that of any man. Fortunatus conveys the political realities with his usual accuracy. The queen emerges from his writing as the focal point of the kingdom in reality as much as in name until Childebert reaches his majority. Her position is defined as a widow and regent by her children and their children, but it is assured by her strong character as a leader. Her continuation of Sigibert's appreciation of literature and the value of Fortunatus as literary spokesman for the court can be seen in the existence of the poems to her and Childebert. Like the Merovingian kings, she does not emerge from the poems as a person depicted with any detail of character. Her image, like theirs, is the public one of achievement and patronage. Her femininity is reflected only in the means by which she laid claim to power.

Little mention is made of Fredegund. Fortunatus' loyalties lay with the kingdom of Sigibert. The consolations on the deaths of their sons are addressed to her and to Chilperic in 581 (Poems 9.2 and 3). The only direct address is the encomium in the panegyric to Chilperic (Poem 9.1.117 ff.), which represents her as a loyal and godly wife. Her portrait here is composed rather as a "mirror of princes" than with a strict regard to reality. But the inclusion of the queen in the two consolations and as a worthy and significant consort to the king, again, as in the poems to Brunhild, reflects Fredegund's strong character and real influence upon the king and events in the kingdom (58).

Fortunatus writes poems to three other queens - to Ultrogotha, and to the two Theudechilts - as well as to the princess Berthoara, and to Berthechild who was possibly also a princess. The consolation to Ultrogotha and the other poems concerning her have already been discussed (59). This queen, whose devout life gained her a reputation equal to that of the other religious, Clotild, Radegund and Balthild (60), is offered a delicately worded consolation by Fortunatus in terms which indicate the concerns of her life. She is not a powerful, manipulative political figure, like Brunhild, but is vulnerable because she has no sons and relies upon her nephew, Charibert, for protection. There is no direct description of Ultrogotha in De horto Ultrogothonis; but the consolation, with its delicate and unconventional expression does suggest a response to an individual. She is not idealised or stereotyped. Fortunatus writes to comfort the grief of a particular person in particular circumstances, and does so in terms which will mean something to her. The implication of what he writes is that she is oppressed by circumstances from which she seeks refuge, that she is devout, and that she is well able to appreciate the allusive literary expression of his consolation.

Poem 4.25 is an epitaph for Queen Theudechild. The identity generally suggested for this Theudechild is that she is the daughter of Suavegotta and Theuderic I (61). If that is so, the brother mentioned in line 9 is Theudebert, her father Theuderic, her husband Hermegesicles (king of the Varnes) and her grandfather Clovis. She married Hermegesicles in the 540s and appears to have returned home after his death in 548/9 (62). A woman of that generation, living to the age of seventy five (line 22), could well have been commemorated

by Fortunatus as far as chronology is concerned. We may identify this Theudechild, Theudechild I, as the daughter of Theuderic and Suavegotta.

Theudechild, subject of Poem 6.3, cannot be the same woman.

Fortunatus says of her:

currit in orbe volans generis nova gloria vestri
et simul hinc frater personat, inde pater.

(lines 3-4)

(the new renown of your family now flies through the earth
and both your brother and your father blazon it forth).

Though her parentage is described in similar terms to that of Theudechild I in lines 1-2, Theudechild I's father died in 534 and her brother in 548, which scarcely allows the possibility of nova gloria in the 560s or 570s. The mention of a father and brother only and the identification of rex as being Theudechild's father (lines 1 - 4) imply that her husband was not alive. If he were, a mention of him would have been expected (as in the epitaph to Theudechild I, line 9). But she must have been married at one stage: she has a child or children (prole, line 10). Krusch, in his Index Personarum, identified Theudechild I as one of the wives of Charibert, a chronologically convenient supposition. She offered herself and her treasure in marriage to Guntram on Charibert's death in 567. Unfortunately he seized most of her wealth and despatched her to a nunnery in Arles where she lived unhappily ever after (63). This Theudechild is of interest as a royal widow who was not able to survive her husband's

death by her political skill, connections or personal attractions, unlike the two survivor queens, Brunhild and Balthild. But it seems unlikely that this Theudechild is the queen to whom Poem 6.3 is addressed. Fortunatus unequivocally addresses that queen as being of royal stock (lines 1-6) and as coming from antiqua genus (line 8). Gregory of Tours says of Charibert's Theudechild that she was a shepherd's daughter. It seems unlikely that either Fortunatus or Gregory is misleading us in their accounts of her parentage. Fortunatus moreover addresses her as prole potens (line 10). We are told by Gregory that Theudechild had a son by Charibert but that the child died almost immediately: the implication of this account is that the liaison was short-lived and unimportant (63). The conclusion must be that the Theudechild addressed in Poem 6.3 is not Charibert's queen and that she cannot be given a historical identity. It appears from the poem that she is a princess of high standing, probably with a son (implied by prole potens in line 10), that her husband is dead, but that she is well protected by a brother and father.

In spite of the difference in identity, there are marked similarities in the way they are depicted. Both come from a long and illustrious royal family (Poem 4.25.7-10; Poem 6.3.1-8). Both are described as generous to the poor and needy (Poem 6.3.19-24; Poem 4.25.11-16), accessible and welcoming (Poem 6.3.17-18; Poem 4.25.15-16), and as a builder and renovator of churches (Poem 6.3.27-28; Poem 4.25.17-18). Both poems look for an eternal reward for Theudechild for these qualities, the one in anticipation (Poem 6.3.25 ff.), the other in retrospect (Poem 4.25.19-22).

Theudechild I died as an honoured old lady. Theudechild II was

perhaps in middle age or older when the poem was written to her - there is no mention of her beauty. They are not extraordinary people, they have not created any great impression or left a great mark in history in general. Yet each played the role of charitable patroness and builder, and this apparently in her own name and not merely as a husband's wife.

The attribution of these qualities can be paralleled from the eulogies and epitaphs to leading men. The nobility of birth, the generosity and charity to all in need, and the record of building or restoring churches are qualities that Fortunatus praises in a number of bishops: for example, Eumerius of Nantes (Poem 4.1), the two Ruricii of Limoges (Poem 4.5), Chronopus of Perigueux (Poem 4.8) and the two Leontii of Bordeaux (Poems 4.9 and 10), amongst others. Two comments alone in the poems to the Theudechilts seem to arise specifically because they are women. Theudechild I is noted in the context of her male relatives (Poem 4.25.9-10). Theudechild II is also seen in the reflected glory of her brother and father and the future strength of her child (presumably a son) (Poem 6.3.3-4,10). To that extent Fortunatus' praise reflects the dependent role and status of women in Merovingian society. But the substantial bulk of the spiritual and practical virtues are common to both sexes. The poet recognises and reflects a role for women which is not defined exclusively by their biological role. They are responsible in their own right for the giving of charity and the protection of the poor, and for building works. Theudechild II's work as a church builder (Poem 6.3.27-32) is seen in the same light as that of Leontius of Bordeaux (Poem 1.15.81-86), as laying up treasure in heaven as a

reward for such virtue on earth. The queen, like a king or a bishop, is seen as an autonomous person who can exercise authority and gain merit in this way.

Similarly, Berthoara, daughter of Theudebert I (65) and niece therefore to Theudechild I (if that identification is correct), inspired Bishop Sidonius of Mainz to build a new baptistery there (Poem 2.11). The praise given to her is like that accorded kings and bishops. ~~She is to be~~ catholicae fidei splendor (line 11), as Chilperic is catholicis religionis apex (Poem 9.1.144); she is templorum cultrix, as Exocius of Lomoges, for example, is cultor templorum (v. Poems 4.6.13; c.f. 4.3.10). She also has the virtue of the Theudechilids of charity to the poor. Bishop Sidonius is commended in Poem 9.9 for being the first bishop for some time to take up residence in Mainz and for his work in improving the course of the Rhine. He, like Leontius of Bordeaux, had an energetic interest in building, but in this instance it is Berthoara who is the force behind the project.

Poem 6.4 praises Berthichild for her renunciation of family and for her dedication to Christ. She is eulogised for her vocation (lines 7-14) and for her generosity to the poor (lines 17-24). The implication of these lines, especially of line 24 -

divitiasque tuas omnibus esse facis

(you give your wealth for all to share) -

is that she is not just administering alms on behalf of a community. This generosity is her own action and from her personal wealth. The position of this poem, between that of De Theudechilde regina

(Poem 6.3) and De Galswintha (Poem 6.5), and in a book arranged in a pattern of poems to royalty as far as Poem 6.6, might suggest that Berthechild, like Theudechild II, is another member of the Merovingian royal house of whom we have no other historical record. Unlike Theudechild, she is not married but her inherited wealth must have enabled her to lead a devout and independent life of charity.

2. Other poems to women

Fortunatus' other poems to or about women likewise refer, in many cases, to women who are independent, well-educated and influential.

The epitaph of Poem 4.27 is written for Eufrasia, widow of Namatius, Bishop of Vienne, who died in 559 (66). The epitaph for Namatius himself survives in an inscription (67); it is a lengthy and florid piece some ten lines longer than his wife's. Both are noted for their aristocratic birth (Namatius, lines 11-16, 25-26; Eufrasia, lines 11-12) and for their charity (Namatius, lines 20-24; Eufrasia, lines 15-18). Namatius is commended also for his eloquence (line 25). He died at the age of 73 and she was possibly of a comparable age. It is interesting that the main attributes of both are the same. The greater part of the epitaph to Namatius is devoted in a more florid style to the commonplaces of consolation. In style the epitaph for his wife is more moving and personal (68). The direct use throughout of the second person emphasises this approach. By contrast, the epitaph on Namatius himself is addressed to the general public, the subject being spoken

of in the third person. It is altogether more lugubrious and conventionally grief-stricken. Fortunatus is more optimistic about Eufrasia's qualities and the reward she can expect for them.

It is worth noting that the widow is respected in her own right. Mention is only made of her role as wife after comment on her own high birth (lines 13-14) and then in reference to her dedication of herself to God's service after Namatius' death. Not only is she represented as a worthy and independent person, but she emerges more of an individual than her husband. Her merits are the same as her husband's and Fortunatus writes for her as effectively and at as great a length as he does for most of the bishops whose epitaphs are contained in book 4.

Two consolations for young girls show very little knowledge of their personalities or interests. Poem 10.2, ad virum inlustrem Salutarem, and Poem 10.4, Item alia, are formal and elaborate consolations on the death, in the first case, of a ten year old about to be married, and, in the second case, of a young nun. The focus of the writing is on the formulae of mourning and consolation (69). Little attention is paid to the children mourned. Poem 10.2.9 gives a brief account of the child's life; Poem 10.4.5 commends the girl's virtuous behaviour. With children of that age, either boys or girls, one would not expect that much more would be said about character or achievements.

The same is not quite true of his treatment of Eusebia in Poem 10.28. She was engaged to be married to Eusebius but died at the age of ten before her wedding. She is praised, as one would expect, for her beauty (line 8) but at greater length for her skill in spinning and writing - docta tenens calamos. Evidence of a wide education is found

also in the consolation on the death of Vilithuta (Poem 4.26) (70). Vilithuta was married at the age of thirteen and died in childbirth some ~~four~~ years later. In this context it is interesting to note that she is praised for her education and cultured upbringing (lines 13-16). She was brought up in this way by her grandmother:

orfana hinc curae studiis adolevit opimae

inque loco natae neptis adulta fuit.

(lines 33-34)

(as an orphan she grew up then through the devotion of a ~~wealthy~~ grandmother: treated like a daughter, the granddaughter grew up),

the mother possibly having died, as the daughter did, in childbirth. It is noteworthy that a girl is given a Roman-style education at the initiative of her female guardian, her grandmother, and that the grandmother, like Brunhild on a higher social level, is responsible for family decisions. She chose this training for her granddaughter and Fortunatus draws attention to it as one of the girl's praiseworthy characteristics, for the loss of which he offers consolation to her husband. The very fact that the poet writes such a lengthy and delicately constructed eulogy on Vilithuta herself and a well argued consolation for her husband demonstrates the value set on the girl as an individual and the value set upon the Roman culture which Vilithuta, through her education, and Fortunatus, through his role as poet, are part of. The Roman culture is a Christian one - the terms of the consolation make this very clear - and Vilithuta's education and

Fortunatus' poetry are important expressions of it.

There are poems written to women who are associated in work with their husbands. Berethrud is mentioned in Poem 2.8 as working with her husband, Launebod, in building the church of St. Saturninus. She is praised as beautiful, well-born and as administering her wealth for the good of the church and the poor (lines 25-34). From Gregory we know that she founded nunneries, held large estates near Poitiers and left bequests to the church on her death, appointing her daughter as heiress and executrix (71).

Placidina, wife of Leontius of Bordeaux, was of high aristocratic birth (72). She was responsible for the hangings and furnishings of the church of St. Martin in Bordeaux (Poem 1.6.21); with Leontius she roofed the church of St. Vivian (Poem 12.14) and donated church plate (Poem 1.14.2). A mini-encomium on her is included in the panegyric to Leontius (Poem 1.15) which celebrates her high birth, eloquence and moral character (lines 93-108). Fortunatus also addresses a short poem of greeting to her alone (Poem 1.17). This poem suggests that she, like her husband, was regarded as a patron by the poet. She is another woman who is a powerful and influential person in her own right.

Palatina, to whom Fortunatus addresses a short encomium (73), was also of aristocratic birth; she was the wife of Count Bodegesil. This poem, like the one to Placidina, regards her as Fortunatus regards her husband - as a patron but, in this case one with whom he has no particularly close personal ties. She is less remarkable than Placidina in her parentage, marriage and achievements but nonetheless is addressed by the poet as an individual.

Other women are mentioned incidentally by Fortunatus. Justina, for example, Gregory's niece, is commended to her uncle in Poem 9.7.81 together with Radegund and Agnes. She is indirectly involved in the poems about the crisis at the convent in Poitiers (Poems 8.12 and 12a), since she was then prioress. And in Poem 8.13 Fortunatus thanks Gregory for making contact between her and her grandmother, Armentaria. Though Fortunatus writes no poem to her specifically, he looks after her interests, insofar as he can, as a member of Gregory's family and of Radegund's community. Poem 10.15 is addressed to Armentaria herself, in terms of respectful admiration.

3. Poems for Radegund and Agnes

By far the greatest number of poems written to a single person are written to Radegund, with a considerable number being written also to Radegund and Agnes jointly or just to Agnes. Many of these poems lie outside the scope of this present work. The nature of communities such as that of Radegund of Poitiers, the concept of monasticism and religious vocation at this period, the literary expression of this thought and experience in poetry and in hagiographical writings such as Fortunatus' Vita Radegundis are large and complex topics which do not impinge on the question under discussion here. It is sufficient in considering the role and nature of Fortunatus as Gelegenheitsdichter to note that his work did extend into this area, that he made a lasting contribution to this tradition also and that his writing to and for Radegund reflects this tradition to an important extent. The

poems De virginitate (Poem 8.3) and Ad virgines (Poem 8.4), the image of Radegund presented in his eulogy of her in Poem 8.1, Ex nomine suo ad diversos (lines 21 ff.) and his biography of Radegund must all be considered in this context. Here we find the tradition of the Marian cult and the concept of the religious life reflected in Fortunatus' glorification of Radegund's dedication to a life of poverty and chastity and rejection of worldly splendour. This does indeed, as Bezzola remarks, present a view of woman as an asexual, distant and idealised being which perhaps has more influence on later medieval writers than other aspects of Fortunatus' images of women. But at the same time it is only a single aspect of the ways in which women, including Radegund and Agnes, are represented in Fortunatus' poems. We have seen that in his poems to other women Fortunatus writes to them as people of differing characters in differing circumstances - as politicians, builders, givers of charity, patrons of literature and so on. There is no single stereotype of "woman" in the image he presents, any more than there is one of "man". Here too there are other important aspects of his view of Radegund and Agnes which must be taken as qualifying and complementing his view of them as religious, central though this is. Similarly, Fortunatus' function as a poet in writing for Radegund extends beyond the poems of formal religious devotion, such as the Cross poems and the poems on virginity, to other types of work.

It has been observed that there are at this period two traditions of saintliness in Gaul: that of the recluse, the hermit or the religious in a closed order whose action on the outside world is through the supernatural means of intercession, example and grace,

and that deriving from St. Martin and others, the apostolic tradition of active intervention in the world's affairs, exemplified in Radegund's lifetime by the work of saintly bishops such as Germanus of Paris and Gallus of Clermont-Ferrand (74). Fortunatus' Vita Radegundis follows in general the first pattern, with emphasis on the world of prayer, discipline and abstinence within the convent. The Vita Radegundis of Baudonivia, following the alternative contemporary view, depicts a more outward-looking character, concerned for, and actively intervening in, the world outside.

Baudonivia specifically declares that she is complementing Fortunatus' version:

Non ea quae apostolicus Fortunatus episcopus de beatae
vita composuit iteramus.

(Prologue)

(We will not repeat those matters which Bishop Fortunatus,
that apostolic man, wrote about the life of the blessed
woman).

Her picture of Radegund is very much of a nun who follows the Gallic tradition of St. Martin of active involvement in the affairs of the world. She records that:

Semper de pace sollicita, de salute patriae curiosa, quando
quidem inter se regna movebantur, quia totos diligebat
reges, pro omnium vita orabat ~~et~~ ~~in~~ intermissione pro eorum
stabilitate orare docebat. Ubi eos inter se amaritudinem

moveri audisset, tota tremebat, et quales litteras uni, tales alteri dirigebat, ut inter se nec bella nec arma tractarent, sed pacem firmarent, et patria ne periret. Similiter et ad eorum procures dirigebat ut praecelsis regibus consilia salutifera ministrarent, ut, eis regnantibus, populi et patria salubrior redderetur.

(Vita 2.10)

(She was always anxious for peace, always concerned for the wellbeing of her country. When there was tension between the kingdoms, since she loved all the kings, she prayed for the life of all and taught us to pray without ceasing for their settled state. When she heard there was any ill feeling between them, she feared with all her being and sent letters to both sides alike, so that they would not resort to arms or war between themselves, but should establish peace, and thus the country not come to disaster. Likewise she directed requests to their chief men that they should give peaceable advice to the high kings, so that, under their government, the wellbeing of people and country should be improved).

Motives like these lay behind her attempt to acquire a fragment of the True Cross. It was not just for the sake of her community or for the wider community of the diocese. She petitioned Sigibert:

ut ei permitteret pro totius patriae salute et eius regni stabilitate lignum crucis Domni ab imperatore expetere.

(Vita 2.16)

(that he should allow her to request the wood of the Lord's Cross from the emperor for the sake of the safety of the whole country and the stability of his realm).

Though Baudonivia's picture is also of a life of prayer and mortification, this more positive and interventionist role is a strong element in her representation of Radegund.

Baudonivia places a greater emphasis on Radegund as founder of the community and stresses more assertively her valuable contribution to the welfare of the whole country. This may reflect, not only a differing tradition of saintliness but also a positive stance against detractors of her and the community after her death (75). Baudonivia, as she says, is deliberately attempting to complement Fortunatus' account but in what she says she may also be less influenced than Fortunatus by the conventional literary female stereotypes of obedience, nurturing and passivity which are apparent elsewhere in the poet's descriptions of women (76). That is to say, though Fortunatus reflects sympathetically the wide and varied interests of his women patrons, he is still more bound than a contemporary woman writer by female stereotypes, especially when he is writing more clichéd, stereotyped poems.

Even if he was affected by this subliminal chauvinism, Fortunatus fully understood and supported the more interventionist stance Radegund took in political affairs, as we can see in the gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia (Appendix 2) and the consolation De Galswintha (Poem 6.5). He spread her fame to bishops in Gaul and as far as Galicia, in the correspondence with Martin of Braga (Poems 5.1

and 2). In the De virginitate (Poem 8.3) he ranks Radegund and Agnes amongst other notable women religious, such as Caesaria of Arles, and great women saints such as Agnes and Thecla. He extols them similarly in the poem Ex nomine suo ad diversos (Poem 8.1.41-45).

Radegund was astute enough to secure the support of five episcopal provinces for her community with provisions which furthered the standing and security of the nuns (77). The bishops, as reported by Gregory, went so far as to liken her to a new St. Martin, sent to revitalise Gaul (Thuringia and Pannonia not being very far apart!), and to commit the support of their successors also. Yet, as has been said, there was a strong antifeminist movement in the church during the sixth century, and, in writing and acting as he did, Fortunatus may have been arguing a case. A view was put forward at the Council of Macon, that women could not be included under the term "man". Kurth suggests that the bishop in question may have been arguing that women do not possess a soul (78). The refusal to allow the consecration of women as deaconesses or professed widows at the Councils of Orleans and Tours has already been noted (79). But the tradition within which Radegund was working was that of Caesarius of Arles who so warmly supported the dignity of marriage and the equal rights of women to a spiritual life (80). In spite of Fortunatus' comment that women were sexus inferior (Poem 10.2.7), it is clearly this latter philosophy that he himself follows in his support for Radegund.

In the gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia (Appendix 2), Fortunatus speaks publicly and officially on Radegund's behalf, much as he does to the Parisians on behalf of Charibert (Poem 6.2), or to

the people of Tours on behalf of Gregory (Poem 5.3). But Rade Gund is here working in parallel with Sigibert to strengthen ties between East and West. This address for Rade Gund to the emperor in Byzantium on the subject of a fragment of the True Cross may therefore be considered a more momentous matter than either of those panegyrics, addressed as they are to a king and a bishop, and dealing only with matters of domestic concern.

Appendix 1, De excidio Thoringiae, also has Byzantine connections. In this poem Rade Gund speaks to her cousin, Amalfrid, son of Herminfrid (81). Procopius records Amalfrid as fleeing to Justin in Byzantium and he appears to have been killed some time later in an expedition to support the Langobards against the Gepids (82). The poem is written in the epic tradition, the first line echoing Lucan's sors invida (83) and the grand theme of the downfall of an ancient house is given an epic reference:

non iam sola suas lamentet Troia ruinas,
pertulit et caedes terra Thoringa pares.

(lines 19-20)

(now it is not Troy alone who mourns her ruins:
the land of Thuringia has suffered equal slaughter).

As usual, there are few direct verbal echoes (84) but the vignettes in the scenes of the overthrow of the Thuringians are familiar from the epic and rhetorical tradition. We can find parallels in Claudian, for example, for the picture of the destruction of proud and ancient

kingdom (85), of the battlefield piled high with the bodies of the slain (86), of the families separated and distraught with grief (87), and of the dispersal of a whole people (88).

After this scene of devastation has been set, Radegund herself speaks in lamentation, mourning that she alone of the royal family is left to grieve for the death of the nation:

quisque suos habuit fletus, ego sola sed omnes:
est mihi privatus publicus ille dolor.

(lines 33-34)

(everyone has their own grief, but I alone mourn for all:
that suffering of the people is also my own).

She speaks of her grief and then of her devotion to her cousin, Amalfrid, and of their childhood love for each other (lines 33-54). They are now at opposite ends of the earth (lines 65-70). She reproaches him for his lack of care for her (lines 71-84). She pictures him as fighting in various theatres of war and declares that she would have set out fearlessly to find him had she not been confined to the convent in Poitiers (lines 95-122). She mourns the death of her brother (lines 123-154) and reproaches Amalfrid for his failure to help her (lines 155-156).

The poem ends with a request apparently for Amalfrid to commend her to the Merovingian kings:

ut me commendes Francorum regibus oro,
qui me materna sic pietate colunt.

(lines 165-166)

(I beg that you commend me to the rulers of the Franks,
 who look after me with motherly care thus),

and with wishes for a speedy answer to her prayers.

This transition of reference to the Frankish court is abrupt and disconcerting. The lines immediately before and after this couplet refer to Byzantine concerns, so the abrupt reversion to the Merovingian court is awkward. Tardi's emendation to Graecorum regibus is, for that reason, attractive (89). The reference to Justin II and Sophia as Greeks would, however, be unusual. In the gratiarum actio (Appendix 2) Fortunatus describes them as Roman rulers (line 15), though the emphasis here may be on Rome as the centre of orthodoxy. But in Corippus, the emperor is spoken of throughout as the ruler of Rome (90). The medallions sent by Tiberius to Chilperic bore the legend Gloria Romanorum (91). It therefore seems unlikely that the emperor and empress would be so addressed. Blomgren's suggestion seems more acceptable. He considers that the final eight lines of the poem were a covering note to Radegund, as the final lines of the poem on Avitus' conversion of the Jews were an aside to Gregory (Poem 5.5.137-150). An emendation of me to te in line 166 here would change the reference from Radegund and Amalfrid to Radegund and Fortunatus and give the sense, as in a concluding note from Fortunatus to the nun, of a request for her to commend him to Sigibert and Brunhild, with wishes to her for the success of her project (92).

The strong impression given by the poem on analysis is that it was

intended for Amalfrid ~~least~~ among its potential audience. Radegund may have had a genuine wish to contact her long-lost cousin. But it is unlikely that the avowed object of the poem - news of Amalfrid - or that object alone, was the purpose of a poem of the same degree of literary formality as the gratiarum actio to Justin II and Sophia, or the epithalamium to Sigibert and Brunhild. As far as Byzantium was concerned, the poem seems to be connected with the request for a fragment of the True Cross. Circulation of a poem from Radegund of this literary quality may well have been intended to impress the court with the quality of life in the Frankish kingdoms and to suggest that the relic would not be being sent to any barbaric backwater. The poem is a carefully composed piece of writing in the tradition of Claudian to establish Radegund's status as the last survivor in the West of a proud royal family, to point out that her cousin was a loyal and valued servant of Byzantium, to explain why she too had not joined him at the court, and to point out that the Merovingian kingdom was an acceptable cultural alternative to the Eastern empire. The right atmosphere would thus be created for negotiations for the relic.

The poem was written at about the same time as the epithalamium, the panegyric for Charibert and similar royal and Roman writing. A nun, whatever her background, is not an easy subject for such genres as these. But it is possible to enrol her as a tragic heroine. Brunhild is recognised with ceremonial acclaim as a powerful queen. Radegund is no longer a queen but wishes to achieve ends which require political weight. It is noteworthy that no mention is made of all that came in the intervening gap between the Thuringian campaign and the writing of this poem - Radegund's upbringing and education at the

Merovingian court and her marriage to Lothar. She complains of lack of news of Amalfrid, but herself gives him none. The narrative leapfrogs back to the downfall of the kingdom, the point at which she lost touch with Amalfrid. Radegund is portrayed as a tragic heroine, abandoned in circumstances of epic disaster, an object of well-merited sympathy, and someone who still has important personal ties with the Eastern empire. This latter is an important consideration in view of the reflection in the epithalamium of Sigibert's imperial ambitions and his view of himself as the Western counterbalance to Byzantium. (The request to Amalfrid to commend her to the Frankish kings *would follow this* line of thought (lines 165-166)). The Byzantine connection is sufficiently weighty to support Radegund's ambitions in the West.

There was apparently a response to Radegund's letter. Appendix 3 refers to pagina vestra (line 14) and to the serica vellera (line 17) sent to her. The cultivation of silk worms and the production of raw silk was only introduced to Byzantium in the time of Justinian by the monks of Serinda and silk thread became a Byzantine luxury speciality (93). So this was a fine gift, especially for nuns under Caesarius' Rule, who devoted considerable time to spinning (94).

But it seems that the pagina vestra brought news of Amalfrid's death in the service of the emperor (lines 13-16) rather than any reply from her cousin himself (line 12), though it is not clear whether Amalfrid sent the gift before his death. The outcry in this poem, spoken in Radegund's name, against the irony of fate which sends her further tragedy instead of words from her surviving cousin, is direct and bold. Addressed first to the dead Amalfrid, it is then

spoken to another relative, Artachis. Meyer argues that Artachis is the son of Radegund's brother killed in Gaul about 550, who lives with his mother (line 39) and gives support to the community (lines 37-38) (95). The wording of these lines, however, does not imply their physical presence or proximity but merely hopes for their support. In the elevated style of lamentation and in its reversion to the theme of the Excidium Thoringiae, this poem echoes the style and ideas of the poem to Amalfrid. The request for support for the convent also appears in this poem. The same treatment of Radegund as a tragic heroine, set in an epic context, is announced in the first four lines:

post patriae cineres et culmina lapsa parentum,
 quod hostili acie terra Thoringa tulit,
 si loquar infausto certamine bella peracta,
 quas prius ad lacrimas femina rapta trahar?

(After the ashes of my homeland and the fallen pinnacles
 of my fathers, the fate which the land of Thuringia has
 suffered from enemy forces, if I were to speak of the
 warfare waged in ill-fated contest, to what tears would I, a
 captive woman, be first reduced?)

It seems likely that after the death of Amalfrid, presumably at some period during the negotiations or general contact with Byzantium, Radegund wrote to Artachis (perhaps Amalfrid's son), seeking support for the convent through him instead. The epic literary tones, the appeal to family connections and support, the representation given of Radegund herself are the same in the two poems, the second shorter

because so many of the points are already established and reiteration would be tedious.

Poem 8.1, on Koebner's persuasive interpretation, is also written with the Byzantine court in mind (96). On this view of the intention of the poem, it is to be seen in the context of the embassy which requested the relic. The additional request here is that the learned men of the Byzantine court should send poems which would enable the nuns of Poitiers to revere the Cross properly: that is to say, hymns in praise of the Holy Cross, such as Fortunatus himself wrote shortly afterwards. The poet recommends Radegund to the Byzantines as a learned and devout nun, and announces himself as a poet in the highest literary tradition.

Appendix 1 and 3, therefore, are in the political rhetorical tradition, as much as the epithalamium and the royal panegyrics. They show Radegund's appreciation of the possibilities of using Fortunatus in this complex, prestigious literary way, a diplomatic manoeuvring far beyond simple commendations and messages at the end of a poem. They also show Fortunatus' ingenuity in finding a format to do this job without compromising Radegund's role as an ex-queen and a nun (though the mention of her confinement in a convent perhaps sits slightly uneasily in the middle of an epic plaint). The poet is playing an active political role, albeit an indirect one. Radegund is seen here far more clearly than Brunhild or Sigibert ever are, as manoeuvring politically to achieve her ambitions, perhaps because she does not have the king or queen's resources and role in this area at her

disposal. The poems, like that to Justin and Sophia, let us see her actively pursuing that practical involvement with the outside world that Baudonivia describes. Poem 8.1 is ingeniously self-referring, in that it offers its own literary qualities and pedigree as one of the reasons why the Byzantine scholars should comply with the request made through it.

All these poems, then, are important in that they do not address Radegund; they speak on her behalf. Radegund is the subject of these poems, speaking directly or indirectly through Fortunatus. A parallel could be found in a modern speech writer working for a politician. Fortunatus and Radegund are working together to achieve a purpose. The implication of that relationship is that there is a joint commitment to an end, but that the end is the furtherance of a political policy, developed by Radegund to achieve certain ends for herself and her community, and also for Sigibert and for the Merovingian kingdoms in general, both in domestic matters and in their relations with the East. Radegund is thus seen indirectly here as being as strong, independent and decisive as Brunhild, though, if necessary, implementing her wishes by different means.

There are a number of other poems in which Fortunatus specifically commends Radegund to the recipient or makes mention of her. In virtually every case there are other poems to these people which make no mention of Radegund and where the precise context is not known. We cannot judge whether a poem, overtly on an unconnected topic, may not have strengthened ties between the recipient and Radegund. This may

often have been the case. The poems which do mention her, however, in themselves show a wide network of contacts with the procures whom Baudonivia mentions as being the target of Radegund's guidance and persuasion towards peaceable policies (97).

Radegund had strong ties with the diocese of Paris. Germanus had befriended her, protected her against Lothar, and supported her in her founding of the community at Poitiers (98). Poem 8.2 depicts the dilemma posed by the balance of affection between Germanus and Radegund when both request his presence. The terms for them - mater and pater (line 4) - express the equal obligation. Fortunatus explains the conflicting attractions with great tact in lines 9 to 18. The dilemma is convincing. The message is neatly put and the nature of the problem reflected in its epanaleptic structure. For example:

sunt quia corde pares, iussus non ire recuso:

obsequar ambobus, sunt quia corde pares.

(lines 13-14)

(because they are equally dear, when I am ordered, I do not refuse to go: I will obey both, because they are equally dear).

The poem demonstrates the close ties between Germanus, Radegund and Fortunatus. Poems 2.9 and 10 are also about the bishop and his clergy. Other poems connected with Paris may also reflect a connection with Germanus. The panegyric to Charibert (Poem 6.2) is written at a time of tension between the king and the bishop (99). Poem 3.26 addresses Rucco, a Parisian deacon; Poem 9.11 is to Droctoveus, abbot first of

the monastery of St. Symphorian at Autun, in succession to Germanus, and then of St. Vincent in Paris, in the lifetime of Germanus (100). The Vita Martini mentions the bishop directly (101). Radegund and Agnes later thank the next bishop of Paris, Ragnemod, in Poem 9.10, for his valuable gift of Parian marble. Poem 9.13 is addressed to Lupus and Waldo, deacons in Paris, possibly under Ragnemod. Poem 9.12 is addressed to Faramod, Ragnemod's brother, first Referendary and then, like his brother, Bishop of Paris (102). Thus, in writing from Poitiers, Fortunatus maintains the convent's links with the diocese.

The ties between Radegund, Fortunatus and Gregory were always close, ending only with Gregory's officiation at Radegund's funeral (103). Justina, Gregory's niece, was Prioress at the convent and is referred to when the poet sends Agnes' and Radegund's greetings to Tours in his Sapphic verses (Poem 9.7.77 ff.). This poem is an entirely personal one, reflecting the literary friendship between the two men. It is significant that Fortunatus mentions the two women in this context and in the following terms:

feminae carae, sibi mente nexae
quem colunt, Agnes, Radegundis: idem,
sicut exposcunt vice filiarum,
solve salutem.

(lines 77-80)

((God) who is worshipped by those dear women, Agnes and Radegund, their minds in unison: greet them, (little book), as they request, as your daughters).

Fortunatus sends greetings to Gregory or mentions the women on other occasions (104). Even after Radegund's death his strong appeal to Gregory in a prose letter to act to save the convent is made in Radegund's name that

memores commendationis beatae domnae meae, filiae vel iam
matris vestrae, domnae Redegundis.

(Poem 8.12a)

(Remember the commendation of my blessed lady, your daughter -
~~or now~~ rather your mother - the lady Radegund).

The two women are commended or send their thanks to Bishop Avitus of Clermont, Gregory's guardian in his youth, in two of the four poems to him (105). Felix of Nantes, a signatory of the bishops' letter about the convent (106), writes to Radegund and Fortunatus, who responds on behalf of both of them (107). Poem 11.25, De itinere suo, informs Radegund and Agnes of his visit to Domitianus of Angers, another signatory of the letter (108). Martin of Braga, another bishop with strong connections with Tours and Poitiers (109), is addressed in a formal eulogy by Fortunatus (Poem 5.1). In the introductory prose section (sect. 10) and in the following poem (5.2.63), the poet commends Agnes and Radegund to his prayers. These addresses are clearly part of a correspondence in which Martin gives his support for the community.

In addition to these named recipients of poems or messages, Poem 10.3, a prose letter, is addressed in the text to dominis inlustribus

cunctaque magnificis, omni desiderio complectendis, servientibus dominorum. The title has been lost; but the wording of section 3 and lines 20-22 and 29-30 of section 4 suggests that the letter is addressed to court dignatories. The letter is complex and elaborately formal. The central request is ut ... ita fugitivae huius vitae spatia producantur (that ... thus the span of this fleeting life should be extended) (sect.4). The request is made in Radegund's name. The next letter in Book 10 also has lost its title. It too is written on Radegund's behalf and offers consolation to the parents of one of the nuns of the convent on the death of their daughter (sect.3). In a note on Appendix 20, another poem of general greeting, Leo suggests that two verses are missing from this poem, between lines 4 and 5, which would have put a name to the addressee and perhaps made the poem a little less cryptic (110). As it stands, it appears to refer to someone having come to see Radegund and to Fortunatus' pleasure at their happiness or success. Less obscurely, Appendix 9 is written on behalf of Radegund and Agnes. It is a letter to an unnamed man and his wife Papiana (line 22). The letter is loosely constructed, beginning with the mention of a gift of apples, which, like those in Ultrogotha's garden in Poem 6.6, are seen as religious symbols of man's Fall and Redemption. Note is made of the needs of Dagulf and Dracco, with encouragement to Papiana and her husband to live as brother and sister in holy readiness for any eventuality. They are then urged to entrust their daughter to Radegund's care in the convent. It is a businesslike letter. The impression is that the couple are well-known to the convent, since there is a noticeable lack of formality or explanation of circumstances or intent.

Through this second group of poems, then, which do not have the international political purpose of the Byzantine poems, we can see Radegund carrying out the business of the convent and maintaining her personal and ecclesiastical contacts through the literary agency of Fortunatus. He is being used like a personal mini-chancellery, with the important extra dimension that his poems have the literary resonance and cachet which no secretariat could achieve. It might be suggested that the Byzantine poems arose from special circumstances and were an exceptional activity to win the relic for Poitiers. These other poems, however, were written over a number of years and support Baudonivia's picture of Radegund as being constantly interested and involved in what was happening outside the convent. The poems to Germanus must be dated before his death in 576, and those to his successor after that date. Those to Avitus are after his accession in 571, those to Gregory similarly after 573. Many cannot be dated; but there is ample evidence here of activity over ten years.

Radegund not only communicated by means of Fortunatus' writing. Fortunatus testified in his biography that litteris est erudita (111). He gives a sound, orthodox Christian literary background for her in Ex nomine sup ad diversos (Poem 8.1.37-60). The education of the nuns and the literary activities of the community under the Rule of Caesarius have already been discussed (112). Fortunatus asks for the help of Radegund and Agnes in composing the Vita Martini (Praef. line 27). This help was presumably moral rather than practical. But in Appendix 22, written to Radegund when he was away from the convent, he proudly sent her his newly finished Vita Marcelli for her comments and

approval (lines 15 ff.). In Appendix 31 he thanks and praises Radegund for verses she herself has written:

in brevibus tabulis mihi carmina magna dedisti,
quae vacuis ceris reddere mella potes.

(lines 1-2)

(on small tablets you have given me great verses: you are able to ~~store~~ honey to empty wax (i.e. honeysweet verses on wax tablets)).

Poem 11.23 apologises in gentle self-mockery for having drunk too much and been too sleepy at a meal to write verses for Radegund and Agnes (lines 7-8). Fortunatus draws a caricature of himself over-indulging (lines 3-4) and tries to make up for the deficiency, though he is still very sleepy (113). This suggests indirectly that such literary activities were a part of life in the convent. The couplet of Poem 11.23a is probably an example of the sort of verse dashed off for amusement in those circumstances:

blanda magistra suum verbis recreavit et escis
et satiat vario deliciente ioco.

(lines 1-2)

(the charming mistress of ceremonies restored her servant with words and food, and satisfied him with various delightful jokes).

Agnes and Radegund's literary interest seems to have had an active

aspect as well as the passive one of reading and appreciating Fortunatus' verse, though neither of them appears to have addressed her writings outside the convent, leaving that to the poet (114).

Many of the poems reflect the routine and life of the community. In his biography, Fortunatus describes Radegund as going into retreat for Lent:

prima quoque quadragesima, qua se reclusit in cellula, donec
fuisset transacta, panis non sumpsit cibaria.

(Vita 1.22)

(From the first day of Quadragesima, on which she went into retreat in her cell, until Lent ended, she did not take bread for nourishment).

Poem 8.9 is written as Lent begins (line 3). Radegund's retreat is of great spiritual value (lines 1-2), but he misses her sadly. Poem 11.2 is also about Radegund's absence, probably on her Lenten retreat. Fortunatus again writes of the feeling of loss he and the sisters have at her absence, expressing the feeling in a metaphor:

quamvis sit caelum nebula fugiente serenum,
te absente mihi stat sine sole dies.

(lines 5-6)

(even if the sky is clear and the clouds are fled, in your absence the day is without sunshine).

Poem 8.10 greets her with almost blasphemous joy at the end of that period:

paschalemque facis bis celebrare diem.

(line 4)

(You make Easter twice the occasion for celebration).

His feeling that life has now returned is expounded in traditional nature imagery (115): the seed has not only begun to sprout but the harvest has come to fruition. The lush and fruitful autumn scene echoes his feelings of satisfaction and contentment. The feasting at Easter is also referred to in Appendix 14, which praises three nuns:

quo geminae matres, extat et una (soror)?

(line 2)

(in which there were two mothers and one (sister)),

the reference being to Radegund and Agnes and the third, the other mater, possibly a visiting dignitary (116).

Poem 8.7 also celebrates the season of Easter and the decoration of the altar and church with flowers. This is a compact poem, full of the life and vitality it celebrates. The first four lines draw contrasting pictures of chill winter and spring warmth and growth, beginning with a line which echoes Claudian (117) but putting spring firmly in the Christian context of Easter in line 3. The picture is then full of life and action: the verbs are positive - ornant, fertis, datis,

textistis. There is a blaze of colour:

aureus ordo crocis, violis hinc blatteus exit,
 coccinus hinc rubricat, lacteus inde nivet.
 stat prasino venetus: pugnat et flore colores,
 inque loco pacis herbida bella putas.

(lines 11-14)

(The ranks come forth golden with saffron, purple with violets here, here red glows, there milky white gleams. The blue rivals the green: the colours fight in flowers as well, you would imagine a battle of plants in that place of peace).

The colours are not merely passive objects for appreciation. The sophisticated and crisp circus metaphor conveys their aggressive fight for attention. The scent of flowers is at first literal - the roseo odore of line 6 becoming the scent of sacred offerings in lines 7 to 8 and finally picked up in line 20 to complete the poem as the odor of sanctity of Agnes and Radegund (118). The poem expresses the sheer joy of the three people at the feeling of release and new life after Lent.

Other celebrations of the community are also the subject of poems. Poem 8.3, De virginitate, written for the installation of Agnes as abbess, celebrates the spirituality of devout women, setting Agnes and Radegund amongst the noble company of such as Caesaria of Arles and the great women saints, Agnes, Thecla and many others. Full discussion of this poem would involve considerations beyond the scope of this

present work. But it is sufficient here to note that the poem is a sumptuous and magnificent celebration of the life of the community and its leaders. Poems 11.3 and 5 are on Agnes' natalicium, the anniversary of her installation as abbess (119). The first of these, addressed to Radegund, congratulates her on her daughter by grace and offers joyful wishes for a life always together. A pun on Agnes' name -

Agnem hanc vobis agnus in orbe dedit

(line 10)

(the lamb (Agnus) gave you in the world this Agnes) -

adds humour to the good wishes. The second poem, to Agnes herself, is a complaint that he has been robbed of her company. There are Horatian echoes in the first phrase of the poem - dulce decus nostrum (120) - which flatteringly link Agnes with Horace's patron, Maecenas, and he uses again the imagery used of Radegund in Poem 11.2.5-6 to say that clouds vanish in her presence. It is a neat, evocative and gently teasing poem.

Appendix 17, 18 and 19 are all about other celebrations of the community. The first poem refers to the poet as being outside the convent - me foris excluso (with me shut outside) in line 3 - but summons the sisters to rejoice since vos hanc retinetis amantes (you, in your love, have her in your keeping - line 3). The context is obscure but Fortunatus' reaction was to write about the event, to share the rejoicing indirectly at least. Appendix 18 mentions a day

of rejoicing from which Fortunatus is regretfully absent. He is unable to give presents and so sends this poem instead. In gentle teasing he begs God to forgive Agnes and Radegund for sending him away.

Appendix 19 is again about a feast day, apparently in connection with St. Martin (line 4). The epanaleptic structure of the poem is similar to that used in the poem to Germanus (Poem 8.2) and produces a lively, tripping effect. Here the poet celebrates the music of the convent, Radegund's eloquence and the singing in the festivities.

These poems therefore reflect a vigorous and rich communal life: church festivals being celebrated with a church full of flowers, music and singing; and other more personal occasions the subject of general rejoicing, of feasting and present giving. In all this Fortunatus takes part - or feels aggrieved if he is not present - with offerings of poems for the occasion.

Fortunatus records in his biography of Radegund

ex illo tempore quo ... velata est, usque ad infirmitatem
...potum vero praeter aquam mulsam atque piratium non bibit.

(c. 15)

(from the time when she received the veil, to the time of her illness... she did not take anything to drink except honey water and perry).

It was perhaps during her illness that he wrote Poem 11.4, where he and Agnes urge Radegund to take St. Paul's advice and drink a little wine for her health's sake. Appendix 28 also shows concern for

Radegund. Fortunatus praises all the hard physical work Radegund does - lighting fires and cooking - which will win her a heavenly reward. But he is concerned that he is not able to share in the work and urges her to share it with Agnes. Appendix 15 sends both of them prayers for their well-being during the night, that the angels may watch over them.

Poems 11.9 and 10 thank her (or her and Agnes) for the meals they have sent him, which he writes up in grotesque exaggeration, with the humour of the poem to Mummolen (Poem 7.14) or the description of the river Egircius (Poem 1.21). Poem 11.22a similarly draws a mock grotesque description of a feast (121). Poems 11.15 and 19 thank them for gifts of milk, again with suitable apostolic references (Poem 11.15.3). In Poem 11.19 he has evidently been ill and regretfully unable to deal with all the good food they sent him. Poem 11.14 is on a similar subject and compliments Agnes on her skill at making cheese. Appendix 26 and 27 are about other presents. Appendix 26 sends greetings with an unspecified gift for them and apologises for not having a proper container for it. Appendix 27 sends Agnes a crucifix which he prays will watch over both of them with love.

There are several poems about gifts of flowers, all with the lively sense of natural beauty found in Poem 8.7 and in the poem on Ultrogotha's garden (Poem 6.6), and with a readiness to see Christian significance behind natural objects. In Poem 8.6 the poet offers Radegund a humble bunch of violets with apologies that they are not lilies or roses. Like many classical givers of gifts, he sends only what he has been able to pick himself (lines 3-4) (122). This humble bouquet of violets, sent with love, is as good as a bunch of roses

(line 6) and the colour is a regal one:

purpureae violae nobile germen habent

(line 8)

(the purple violets have noble buds).

The symbolism of Radegund's status is amplified by the classical dignity of a Horatian echo in the next line where regali murice tinctae is reminiscent of Horace's Afro / murice tinctae (Carm. 2.16.35). This, from a poem in which Horace rejects the paraphernalia of wealth and worldly success, may be deliberately adding a parallel to Radegund's chosen way of life. In the last two lines of the poem the odor and decus of the flowers is symbolically transferred to Radegund as a wish for the odour of everlasting sanctity (123). The poem makes an attractive and elegant offering to Radegund, starting from well-appreciated natural beauty in which Fortunatus sees Radegund's nobility and her eternal merits.

The classical flavour of this poem is found in two other short poems about presents: Poem 11.13, Pro castaneis, and Poem 11.18, Pro prunellis. Both are graceful little acknowledgements, both have Vergilian echoes. Castaneas molles in Poem 11.13.4 echoes Vergil's castaneae molles in Eclogue 1.82. Ramo umbrante pependit of Poem 11.18.5 is reminiscent of ramo frondente pependit of Aeneid 7.67.

The colour and scent of flowers are used more intensively as Christian symbols in Poem 8.8. This poem, though again about a gift of violets - with crocuses this time - is not a neatly turned compliment about an informal gift. The first words - o regina potens -

immediately set the tone and the tribute to Radegund is carefully and elaborately worked out. The contrast is made immediately in the concept of regina, between the material world which Radegund has rejected, though she has the right to these riches and power (lines 3, 5-6), and the heavenly kingdom and riches she will inherit as a result of this earthly self-denial (lines 5-12, 15). The flowers Fortunatus offers symbolise this contrast. Though they are worthless in material terms (lines 2-3), their rich colours recall the earthly wealth she has rejected and the true riches she is winning (lines 5-12). Their beauty also prefigures the beauty of Paradise (lines 10, 15), their scent that of the fields of heaven (lines 11-12). A symbolic reference may also be found in the colour of the violets to Radegund's formal status as a widow (124).

Running through all these poems about gifts are a lively appreciation and vivid expression of natural beauty, and a readiness to use this beauty and these objects to express religious ideas. These ideas are expressed in language which often closely and deliberately echoes classical nature writing in its particular effects. Radegund's violets are beautiful, they represent her spiritual state, and they are reminiscent of a Horatian rejection of worldly rank and honour. Agnes and Radegund's lively literary appreciation is strongly suggested by the existence of so many small poems on humble topics, by their careful and evocative construction. At the same time, the nature and frequency of gifts show something of their way of life.

Throughout the poems Fortunatus addresses Radegund and Agnes as mater and soror and expresses constant love and concern for them. This

emerges not only in Fortunatus' role as mediator with the outside world on Radegund's behalf, in his involvement with the minor as well as the major events of the community, but also in his loving care for their personal wellbeing. Many of his poems concern occasions which could only have been of personal significance. His poetry is part of what he contributes to the life of the convent - birthday greetings, presents, expressions of concern or worry, of good wishes for an occasion. To both the women he expresses great love and affection, as is clear in the poems already considered. He also expresses the reverse of that coin, great loneliness and longing for them when they are apart. Poem 11.7 speaks with longing for Radegund and Agnes when he is away from the convent. Appendix 16 similarly regrets that he is deprived of the sight of Agnes (probably), but

etsi non oculis, animo cernuntur amantes

(line 3)

(lovers see one another in the mind, if not by the eyes).

Appendix 21 in a vivid metaphor depicts the poet deprived of Radegund feeling like a lamb which wanders anxiously about, bleating for its mother. The phrase, feriens balatibus auras, in line 5 echoes Sedulius' words, complet balatibus auras (125). Agnes then takes thought for him and restores him to his place, to his relief and gratitude. Appendix 25 sends them greetings in his absence. Appendix 30 speaks of Fortunatus' fear of longa ieunia and his doubts whether he can cope with it. He decides that with pietas and gratia he will be able to survive. The poem may literally be about a period of fasting

or of famine. But the metaphors of Agnes and Radegund feeding him with their words and love (126) are so pervasive that a possible interpretation of this poem is that ^{it} is a fearful and pessimistic reaction to Radegund's or Agnes' impending death. At moments of important emotion Fortunatus frequently resorts to imagery to express his feelings, as in the poem to Lupus (Poem 7.8), and in Poem 11.26 and Appendix 29. The unusual fear and gloom of this poem and the lack of reference to his usual source of comfort, one or both of the two nuns, may well suggest this as the real reference for the poem.

Appendix 29 expresses at greater length how he misses them. The poem is a letter to Radegund and Agnes when he is away, somewhere near the sea. He describes the place where he is going: *a promontory or an island*, surrounded by high, swirling seas (lines 1-4). The picture is one of contrasts: sea becomes sand, cold water gives way to warmth. As another contrast, the sterile *sand* produces tria dona dei, blessed food which will feed men caelo dignos. This gift is presumably three fish. Yet Fortunatus does not even mention this, still less develop the obvious Christian and New Testament connotations of fish, and fish on a beach. It is the number three which he sees as significant. But he does not find a wider Christian significance in the number - the Trinity or the three theological virtues. Three, to his mind here, means Radegund, Agnes and himself, their love and friendship a hallowed gift of God. And he immediately says how lonely he is without them. Then, deftly, using the idea of heavenly food which has already occurred, his thoughts move to the heavenly banquet in the life to come and he prays that he will be with them then. The poem ends on a low key with messages and good wishes. This an unpretentious, skilful

and effective little poem. The initial description is vivid, and produces the imagery to enable him to speak about his feelings evocatively and economically, as he did in the poem to Duke Lupus (Poem 7.8).

His feelings were obviously returned - the presents, the meals, the part Fortunatus plays in the community. He speaks specifically of being fed by their love and concern. Poems 11.8 and 11.16 speak of Agnes' dilectio for him which feeds him as adequately as do the sisters' meals (Poem 11.8.7) and lack of which starves him (lines 5-8). The love between Fortunatus and Agnes had apparently given rise to scandal at some point. In Poem 11.6, possibly written after Radegund's death (she is referred to as beata in line 11), he bluntly declares that his love for Agnes has never been anything but chaste love for a sister (lines 3-4). Agnes is to him like his sister, Titiana, as ^{though} Radegund had been mother to them both. Lines 13 to 14-

heu mea damna gemo, tenui ne forte susurro

impediant sensum noxia verba meum

(alas, I bewail my danger, the fear lest by a trifling

whisper harmful words put a stop to my feelings) -

imply some charge from outside, as does the very need to make this statement. This type of "passionate friendship" was certainly a familiar one in the church. The deep friendship of Jerome with Marcella, Paula and Eustochium was a pattern for Fortunatus' relationship with Radegund and Agnes. Malicious gossip was ready to

find scandal in Jerome's association with Paula, as it was with Fortunatus and Agnes. In both cases, friendship in an ascetic religious context found passionate, even erotic, verbal expression (127). Within that context there is no reason not to accept Fortunatus' apologia at its face value.

The relationship between the three, like all close family relationships, also had room for jokes and for quarrels. The pun on Agnes' name in Poem 13.3.10, the humorous approach to Radegund and Agnes for preventing him from being present on a feast day (Appendix 18), the couplet about Radegund's jokes at a feast (Appendix 23a), and the kitchen humour of the grotesquely exaggerated descriptions of meals in Poems 11.9 and 10 all contain fairly simple humour. Two longer poems are more subtle. Poem 11.25, De itinere suo, begins with gloomy and grandiose themes of the fragility of life and human fate - the instability of life's fortunes and mens anxia rerum (128). After this dramatic and sinister start, he briefly catalogues his progress on his journey: well cared for by Emond, hurrying through the aula Cariaca and Tincillacense to join Domitianus of Angers for the feast of St. Albinus. After this rapid factual note, he launches into a dramatic account of the dangers of his journey from Angers in bad weather by river (presumably down the Loire and then the Vienne, if he were travelling back to Poitiers). The land is flooded (lines 15-18), the river is running high with a fearful current:

surgebatque cadens per aquosa cacumina puppis,
ascendens liquidas monte vagante vias:

quo rate suspensa modo nubila nauta tenebat,
gurgite subducto rursus ad arva redit.

(lines 21-24)

(The boat would rise, plunging through the watery peaks, climbing the liquid paths on the shifting mountain: now the boat was held high and the sailor occupied the clouds, now the surge withdrew and he returned again to the fields).

Divine providence, however, will, he prays, bring him back safely home. The description of the voyage has the ring of mock epic. Like his account of enormous meals, the element of exaggeration turns the subject into a joke. The account of the mountainous waves has something of Vergil's storm descriptions. Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite (Aen. 3.564) has similar dramatic impact. But here the epic journey is a joke, taking the edge of fear off a real danger, and reassuring Radegund and Agnes of his safety.

This side of life is counterbalanced by the occasional reference to disagreements and quarrels. Appendix 24 is written in agitation and worry, with Fortunatus wishing he could take wing and fly to join Agnes. Clearly there has been some difference:

nec tamen hic culpam crede fuisse meam

(line 12)

(yet do not believe that this was my fault).

The context of poem 11.1² seems to be some dissension or fault of Fortunatus, which has now been forgiven him:

sed modo da veniam, quaeso, pietate parata,
alterius facinus ne mihi constet onus.

(lines 15-16)

(but only give forgiveness, I beg, with ready mercy, so that
the burden of another's fault should not be laid on me).

Appendix 13 is a brief note to settle a difference between Agnes and Radegund.

Poem 11.26 is by far the most serious and weighty poem of this type. As he often does in a poem with a serious message, Fortunatus begins with a countryside description which only resolves into metaphor after some time in order to state the message (129). This poem begins with a picture of the countryside in which a stream is completely frozen over, solidified with ice so that no movement is possible. The phrasing has as usual echoes of traditional writing on the subjects of winter, snow and ice (130). But here, instead of moving away from winter's icy grip to the relaxation and warmth of spring, Fortunatus merely intensifies the picture. The words enforce the impression of complete paralysis: stricta, riget, concreta, iacet crustata, frenantur, se ligavit and so on. The paralysis is felt as painfully restricting, first at the level of nature:

nec levat adflictas flexilis herba comas

(line 2)

(nor does the supple ~~plant~~ raise its burdened leaf),

and then at the human level:

nec cupimus subter, nec super itur iter

(line 10)

(we do not want to go under, nor is there any way above).

There is a suggestion, first in the wording of the river description and then more explicitly, that this paralysis is self-inflicted:

mole sua frenantur aquae, se lympa ligavit,

obice sub proprio vix sibi praebet iter.

(lines 7-8)

(The water is restricted by its own weight, the moisture has bound itself; it scarcely affords a way for itself through its own impediments).

Cupimus in line 10 may only mean "we are unwilling (very understandably!) to go on the ice" but the lack of will to resolve the impasse is taken up in line 12:

cui dabit illa viam quae sibi pugnat aqua?

(when water opposes itself, to whom will it give passage?).

The solution comes in lines 13 and 14 in biblical terms:

sed si concipitur nunc spiritus ille caloris,

qui tum in principio perferebatur aquis...

(but if now that breath of warmth is conceived, which then in the beginning was wafted on the waters).

Fortunatus asks Agnes and Radegund to pray for a resolution of the situation and for prosperiora for himself, declaring his willingness to obey them. The poem itself is evidence of some serious dissension between Fortunatus and Radegund and Agnes. The poet is unhappy but unable to see any way of reaching them except by this metaphorical explanation of his feelings of bleak misery and frustration.

These poems therefore reflect all aspects of the life of the community and of the relationship between the three people. They deal with the humdrum routine, and also the high points of celebration. They reflect Fortunatus' deep love for the two women, his dependence on them, the jokes and presents they exchange and the occasional quarrel.

There is a clear difference between the picture he gives of Radegund and that of Agnes. Throughout there is a strong emphasis on Radegund as queen and mother, a figure of authority. The poems addressed to her alone often lay stress on her regal status. The thought of:

regati de stirpe potentis Radegundis in orbe

(Poem 8.5.1)

(Radegund powerful in this world through her royal lineage),

is echoed in the symbolism of the violets in Poem 8.6:

purpureae violae nobile germen habent,
respirant pariter regal^{is} murice tinctae.

(lines 8-9)

(Purple violets bear noble buds. Stained with royal murex,
they also breathe scent).

Poem 8.8 speaks with reverence of her as a queen who has rejected the splendour of this world for that of the next. In the poem apologising to Germanus for not leaving Radegund to come to Paris (Poem 8.2), he balances her as equal to the great bishop, at least in her influence over him. She is constantly called mater (131). His dependence on her is shown by the various poems of longing for her when he is away: Poem 11.2, for example, and the picture of himself as a stray lamb in Appendix 21. The statement of his reasons for settling in Poitiers in the poem Ex nomine ad diversos, Poem 8.1, stresses her importance to him:

Martinum cupiens voto Radegundis adhaesi

(line 21)

(seeking Martin, I stayed at the wish of Radegund).

At times he is worried for her, tactfully urging her not to work too hard (Appendix 28) and to look after her health by taking wine (Poem 11.4). But these are only suggestions, not instructions.

He also expresses great love for Agnes and misses her when he is away. The distinction throughout between Radegund as mater, the authority figure, and Agnes, the sister and peer, seems well summed by

his line:

mater honore mihi, soror autem dulcis amore

(Poem 11.6.1)

(a mother with the respect I give you, but a sister
sweetly loved).

He speaks more precisely of Agnes' love for him as though it were rather more immediate and practical than Radegund's more distant and rarified affection. Her dilectio feeds him (Poem 11.8 and 16), he has to declare that they are not lovers (Poem 11.6), and it is Agnes' natalicium he writes poems for. Appendix 23 seems to reflect the various aspects of what he feels for Agnes. Lovingly he warns her of the sudden and unforeseen chances of life in the terms familiar to these topics (132), illustrating this with a picture of the trees heavy with snow one day, the snow melted the next. He urges her to live every day a chaste and godly life in the love of Christ so that she may join the company of virgins in heaven. The poem shows the great reverence for virginity which Bezzola remarks (133) and which is celebrated in the poems on that subject (Poems 8.3 and 4) and in the eulogy of Radegund in Ex nomine suo (Poem 8.1.25 ff.). But there is an immediate human warmth in

flumine nectareo meritis mihi dulcior Agnes

(line 1)

(Agnes, sweeter than a honeyed stream to me for her merits),

which is not present in the more distant adoration of Radegund. This poem combines human love and warmth with a serious concern for her spiritual welfare.

These poems to the two nuns offer an invaluable insight into the work of the poet, the connection between his writing and his relationship with the people addressed, and the way in which his poems reflect the character and interest of their recipient. In this group of poems we have a complete cross-section of all types of poetry, from the formal to the informal, funny and serious, public and personal, narrative and symbolic. The very fact that this entire group are written to the same two people, of whom we have some independent knowledge, enables us to evaluate them with more surety. The most striking feature is the range and versatility of the writing. Fortunatus is able to write the formal and subtle Byzantine poems, with their careful construction, evocative phrasing, and sophisticated diplomatic intent. He is able to maintain a correspondence with a wide range of people of differing characters and degrees of intimacy with Radegund and Agnes. Germanus and Gregory are addressed with sincere affection, Avitus with respectful admiration. His writing is also completely bound up with the life of the convent and of its founder and its abbess. His reaction to an event is often to write about it. The impression given is that for Radegund and Agnes, literature, especially poetry, played an important part in their life in the community. Fortunatus expresses his love for them in poems to them and about them, often complex poems which must reflect their appreciation and learning in the interweaving of classical and Christian motifs. This expression is not only at a

rarified and literary level. His poems give his practical worries about them, thanks for presents and meals, blessings for the night, or maybe no more than a verse to pass round at a meal. And they are remarkably open: he speaks of quarrels and uses poems to resolve differences, he rebuts accusations of unchastity in verse.

The two women's interest in literature is reflected clearly in these poems, as are their different characters and Fortunatus' different relationship with each. All three are bound by ties of love, expressed so often in terms of family relationships. But beyond that, the more distant, regal, perhaps even imperious, character of Rade Gund stands out from that of the more approachable Agnes, the younger woman.

Rade Gund's interest in literature, however, is not only within the bounds of convent life. She is playing an active and interventionist role in the political and ecclesiastical life of the country and also working hard to achieve power, status and security for her community. Though she is addressed on some occasions as the idealised and remote lady, as Bezzola notes, she is far from limited to that character. With and through Fortunatus she works for political influence as far afield as Byzantium, maintaining a network of contacts throughout the country, though she herself never leaves Poitiers. Fortunatus' own travels must have been of assistance here, but his poetry and letters provided her with a resource for communication with resonance and authority which even the kings could only command on occasion. Here the poet's skill in reacting sensitively and ingeniously to draw on the prestigious literary traditions of Christian and classical writing to achieve her purpose was without price. She could send her religious

and literary credentials to the Emperor Justin or present herself for his sympathy as a tragic heroine, in a way which only a king or bishop, commanding Fortunatus' services, could do in Gaul at that time. This resource must have provided an invaluable counterbalance to her lack of the conventional resources of kings and bishops.

4. Conclusions

During the sixth century, upper-class women in Merovingian Gaul had a considerable amount of economic and social independence. A queen could control and decide her kingdom's policies or, as Fredegund did, lead an army into battle. Aristocratic women were able to accumulate wealth and thence enjoy an independence which allowed them to appear in their own right as patrons of the church, and as protectors of the poor and weak. In spite of restrictions on their activities as deaconesses and professed widows, communities of women established themselves throughout the country, offering women a position in which they could lead lives of contemplation or exercise more active pastoral care.

This freedom to choose a way of life, to be seen as people in their own right, to develop interests and abilities, and to exercise authority in a way nearer to that of men than in previous centuries or for a long time to come, is reflected in Fortunatus' poetry. Whatever his doctrinal reservations about the weakness of women, he is no chauvinist in his choice of patrons or in his reflection of their characters and interests. Discounting the poems written on churches,

on various other subjects, and those addressed to kings and queens jointly, there are about half as many poems addressed to women as there are to men (73, as against 159). The majority of these are written to Radegund and Agnes, some sixty poems compared to the twenty seven written to Gregory, Fortunatus' other close friend and patron.

This number and range of poems, not written to women in the classical stereotype of mistress or the later medieval one of unattainable lady (whether in secular or religious guise), but reflecting a width of interests and roles in society similar to that of men, is extraordinary. This indeed reflects the historical reality. But the interest from the aspect of Fortunatus' work as a poet is the way he responds, using traditional formulae and literary stereotypes to a small degree, but applying to and for women the genres of panegyric, of consolation, and of epic narrative, which in earlier classical writing were used largely to reflect the roles and interests of men, or to further their policies and ambitions. At the same time, the poems vividly demonstrate, as the poems to men do, the varied relationships of the poet to his patrons, the coincidence of religious sympathies and literary interests in some cases, the more formal and impersonal service in others.

Radegund and Brunhild both exercised great influence over Merovingian public affairs. In the more formal and public writing the epithalamium is as much for Brunhild as for Sigibert. By her character, her upbringing and circumstances, she contributed substantially to the life and status of the court. Her continuing use of Fortunatus as court poet after Sigibert's death shows her appreciation of the poet's

value. In creating a replica of the literary atmosphere of the imperial court of Byzantium by use of the traditional genres and deliberate evocation of Claudian's work, Fortunatus was making an important contribution to the political ambitions of Sigibert and Brunhild. At the same time, he was playing a similar role on behalf of the ecclesiastical ambitions of Radegund, furthering her plans to obtain a very prestigious relic for her community, thus ensuring its high standing, and then to play a positive and interventionist part in maintaining peace and stability in the kingdom, supporting Sigibert in internal and international policies.

Fortunatus accurately reflects the realities of Sigibert's kingdom in his recognition of Brunhild's role. He celebrates her with emphasis on what actually secures her position - her role as queen mother - until Childebert is old enough to succeed, at which point the focus shifts to the young king. The poems are always formal. He addresses her from a distance, playing the part of official court poet and no more.

He plays a different role with the other queens, the two Theudechils and Ultrogotha. The variety in style and approach in these poems can only reflect their characters and interests. There is sympathy and a highly literary and evocative consolation for Ultrogotha, admiration for the good works of Theudechild I and II. In these and other poems women can be seen occupying places parallel to those of men in their society - builders, literary patrons, landowners and givers of charity. This range of responsibilities and interests is reflected in the poems to them. Eufasia emerges a strong individual in her own right, more

so perhaps than her husband, Namatius. Berethrud, Placidina and Berthoara are all powerful and vigorous people. The poems, like those to men, express also Fortunatus' interest in them as people and patrons. The poem to Palatina, like that to her husband, is dull. The poem to Placidina and the epitaph on Eufrosia show more enthusiasm for their characters and activities. Rade Gund appears from the wide range of poems to her in many various aspects: as an adroit and successful politician, a dedicated founder of the community, devoted to the ideals embodied in the Rule of Caesarius, willing to undertake hard physical work but also to be thoughtful and playful in exchanging presents, appreciating jokes and joining in parties. This rounded portrait, and that of Agnes, seen from so many different angles, is completely remote from any stereotype..

The difference between poems lies often in the poet-patron relationship, not in the genre, since there is such a wide variation within one type of poem. It is not always a matter of personal like or dislike. He is able to write effectively for Brunhild and react sensitively to a situation on her behalf. But he writes always for her as queen, not with any personal intimacy or warmth. Conversely, his love and admiration for Rade Gund are irrelevant in the public poems on her behalf. Unless we had the personal poems to her, we could never tell that there was anything more than that formal, public working relationship. But in other less formal genres - encomia and epitaphs, for example - there is an enthusiasm for some people which is lacking for others.

The range of genres, the variety in style and complexity, is the same as in the poems for men. The subject "poems for women" arises

partly from the sexist and anachronistic approach of some historians and critics to the period and partly from the fact that the poetry of preceeding and succeeding periods fits without much difficulty into narrow gender stereotypes. On the first point, Riché, for example, notes that women receive education in some cases. In the examples given of men, the education is seen as leading into visible and comprehensible public roles: well-educated young men become bishops, work in the chancellery and so on (134). But in the case of women, since there is no "job description" for what they do as adults, except in the case of religious, women vanish as end products of any system of education. It has even been possible to cast doubt in retrospect on the education which they did receive and imagine them as merely "sitting in" on their brothers' lessons in a passive and parasitic way. Fortunatus' work is important from this purely historical aspect, in that it gives a substantial view of some of the educated women of the period. We see them taking an active part in literary life, as patrons, as writers themselves, and not only at the level of domestic literature. They represent themselves in his writing as fully engaged in public works, in management and in political life. From that viewpoint, there is no reason why we should suppose that their education is more or less superficial than that of the men who are similarly occupied.

On the second point, the poetry of the Augustan age and that of the later medieval court may reflect social patterns which are significantly different from those of Merovingian Gaul in respect to the independence and status of women. The patterns of society had changed by the sixth century, a fact reflected in Fortunatus' writing.

In addition, there may be a significant difference in outlook in these matters between earlier poets and Fortunatus purely as individuals. Fortunatus, as a foreigner and a wandering poet without an automatic place in the male hierarchies of society, may see society from a rather different angle from a poet writing for the society in which he was born and educated. He is looking for patronage, not playing literary games with friends and equals or writing as bishop to bishop. The poet may consequently be more ready to look with a fresh eye at an unfamiliar community.

Whatever the correlation between the actual role of women and that reflected in the literature in the different ages, there is no doubt that the three roles offered by Bezzola as covering the whole range of female types - mistress, une froide statue majesteuse, or a distant and idealised asexual lady - do not offer an adequate account of the women in Fortunatus' poetry. Brunhild may be the chill statue. But she is represented in the same public, laudatory way as are the kings and bishops in panegyric and encomia. The description is an emotive term which ignores the political and public function of certain genres which Fortunatus uses. This is an area in which personal affection is not relevant. The category in itself presupposes that women must be written to or about with emotion. That begs the question.

Fortunatus wrote no love poems to a mistress in the Augustan tradition. That tradition has been transmuted by the ascetic and Marian influence to the poetry of Christian love in which a chaste and ascetic relationship may be expressed in passionate and erotic terms. Here it is true that we can see a possible archetype of the medieval courtly lady. It may be the case, however, that the aspect of

an idealised and remote woman, worshipped from afar, arises not so much from any generalised view of women which Fortunatus had, as from the particular circumstances in which he was working. Both Agnes and Rade Gund were nuns. Their dedication and asceticism was something which Fortunatus revered. In the case of Agnes, however, this did not transform her into a remote and visionary being. Their love and the expression of it appear in the midst of the humdrum details of daily life in the convent. Rade Gund, on the other hand, had been a queen and was still regarded as such by Fortunatus. It is the peculiar combination of her former status, and probably her personality, with her vocation that perhaps makes her appear in retrospect as a type which fits into very different social expectations and patterns. The image of Rade Gund in Fortunatus' poems is, then, influential, as Bezzola suggests, but because a later society has extrapolated only what is relevant to it. This does not mean that the poet himself thinks of women in certain types or categories, any more than he does with the men he writes for. In all cases he responds to a person as an individual, in particular circumstances and with particular interests and concerns. He uses and adapts a wide range of classical and Christian genres and exemplars to meet each need with skill and sensitivity. Stereotyped writing comes when he is working for someone he is not interested in, or who has no real interest in him. The stereotype lies in the use of literary form, in the imagination or lack of it in writing, for example, an encomium. Here the epithets may be conventional and the picture lifeless. But there is no stereotype as all-embracing and general as that of "women".

CHAPTER SEVEN

POEMS TO BISHOPS

Analysis of poems to women has illustrated many aspects of the lives of women at this period and in particular their role as literary patrons. At the same time Fortunatus' work for queens, nuns, widows and young wives shows again a sensitivity to the interests and character of his patrons and a readiness to echo traditional genres and motifs, or to adapt them imaginatively where this would be more effective.

There is a considerable number of poems to and about bishops. Some of these - epitaphs, panegyrics and others - have been discussed already. Bishops are a clearly defined group, their role and activities in ecclesiastical and secular spheres well documented, their image, like that of kings, evolved from long historical and literary tradition. Analysis of the panegyrics to bishops has shown their princely status in the ecclesiastical world and the reflection of this in the application of this genre and of the motifs of the basilikos logos to address them publicly. The use of ekphrasis in descriptions of the serried ranks of the bishop and his clergy, the sonorous evocation of the regal motifs of light and architecture, the praise of devout wives and ancient lineage, the validation of the bishop's power by consensus omnium: all these features in Fortunatus'

public panegyric of bishops identify them as virtually matching the secular authority of the king in aspects of their ecclesiastical and spiritual power.

In many sees episcopal office, like royal power, was handed down within families. The virtual inheritance of sees by members of local Gallo-Roman senatorial families has been explored and documented by Stroheker, Wieruszowski, and Heinzelmann (1). There were some notable exceptions in men who had risen to be bishop from the lowest station, and during the sixth century the ranks of the episcopacy were being penetrated by Franks and even foreigners. Riculf, who had ambitions to displace Gregory as bishop of Tours, rose from the mass of the pauperes (2). Eusebius, Bishop of Paris from 591, had been a Syrian merchant; and Fortunatus himself, as bishop, had not the conventional background (3).

The choice of bishop formally depended on the popular acclaim of clergy and people, the assent of the Metropolitan and the king's diploma. During the sixth century the king increasingly had a decisive voice in such choices, on occasion overriding local plans and wishes, as happened when the wishes of Leontius of Bordeaux were frustrated in Saintes by Charibert (4). The panegyric for Gregory, however, invokes a very necessary consensus from the citizens in addition to the positive support for the appointment from the church and from Sigibert and Brunhild, which Fortunatus adduces in the poem (5).

Once elected and in post, a bishop was not invariably secure. Riculf intended to displace the "Clermont faction" and become bishop in Gregory's stead (6). Leontius of Bordeaux was threatened with a

similar disaffection (7), apparently likewise by a Frankish upstart (8). The consensus omnium invoked by the panegyric to Gregory and presumably stimulated by the hymn of congratulations to Leontius was politically important throughout a bishop's reign.

The character and interests of a bishop were a decisive factor for the quality of life in his diocese. The bishop was supremely responsible for the spiritual, and often also for the material welfare of all in his see, with especial responsibility for all in need. He saw to the ransoming of prisoners, the care of the sick, the poor, widows and orphans, and to hospitality for travellers. This responsibility is reflected in Fortunatus' portrayal of the many bishops he wrote for. In his spiritual work the bishop is often seen as being a direct link between his contemporaries and the apostles and the early evangelical work of the church. This thought comes out clearly, for example, in the letter to Martin of Braga, noted for his conversion of the people of Galicia to Catholicism (Poem 5.2). As analysis of this letter shows, Martin is portrayed as being a direct descendant of the apostles in his active furtherance of the Gospel (9).

In Pauline imagery, the bishop leads his people into battle as the Soldiers of Christ (10). The bishop is also commonly, in other New Testament imagery, the shepherd of his sheep or the worker in the vineyard (11). In the care which the bishop has for his spiritual community, Fortunatus sees him as watching over his people with paternal care. For the traveller, for example, the bishop is a father, the city his homeland. In his letters of recommendation, the poet asks for an extension of this pastoral and paternal protection to

strangers (12). In character the bishop appears as exemplifying patientia and placiditas, a calm certainty against threatening chaos (13). He exercises caritas and hospitalitas to all in need: like Tetricus of Langres, he is omnia omnibus (14).

Fortunatus' poems and hagiographical works also reflect and, on occasion, actively promote the work of the city-based bishop in establishing a network of Christian shrines and chapels out into the country, which to an extent remained obstinately pagan (15). These centres of worship extended the bishop's influence into the countryside, sometimes promoting the cult of saints closely connected with the bishop himself, at other times displacing the influence of a pagan shrine by the power of the relics translated to a new Christian shrine on the same site. This struggle against the forces of rural paganism is recorded and extolled by Fortunatus (16). In addition, Le Blant suggested that the poet's work also provided a bishop on occasion with verses to be inscribed or painted in a shrine for the better education of worshippers there (17).

Within a city, communities often found their cohesion and identity in their devotion to a local saint or saints, who also offered the city protection from the threats of war, plague and other afflictions. Bishop Domnolus of Le Mans, for example, built a basilica in honour of St. Vincent pro salute populi vel custodia civitatis (18). Fortunatus played an active part in this aspect of a bishop's work, in writing for the building of a church or the installation of relics. The Vita Martini, written for Gregory, and the Vita Albini, written for Domitianus of Angers, are impressive literary celebrations of such cults, works such as these even being substituted at times for the

epistle at the Mass on days specially devoted to the saint (19). Fortunatus wrote other poems for declamation at the celebration after the dedication of a new building (20). Yet other poems identified and explained the subject of veneration in a shrine, or the scenes depicted by frescoes (21). Fortunatus also provided verse which was engraved on a chalice for use in the Mass (22) and on a vessel intended for the reservation of the Host (23). His epitaphs for bishops publicly commemorated episcopal achievement and virtue, displaying at the same time the pietas of the commissioning patron in carrying out this duty and at times stressing the legitimacy of the succeeding bishop's position.

Bishops also played an active part in the practical and secular lives of their people. Felix of Nantes fought a constant war against the inroads of the Bretons (24), and redirected a river to provide more agricultural land for his people (25). To the equally vulnerable East, Nicetius of Trier and Vilicus of Metz built solid defensive walls to shield their people (26). On occasions bishops were significant political figures at a national level. Igidius of Rheims, lauded elaborately by Fortunatus (27), was a central figure in political intrigue in Austrasia in the 570s and the 580s. Ageric of Verdun was also influential at the Austrasian court: his part in elevating the status of his city is noted by Fortunatus (28). His position of godfather to Childebert II - pater regis ex lavacro - gave him particular influence over that king (29). In Neustrian politics Bertram of Bordeaux, a half-cousin to Chilperic, and Ragnemod of Paris played

significant parts. Gregory himself was drawn into court politics, in opposition to Chilperic at the Synod at Berny-Rivière and on behalf of Childebert II in his embassy to Guntram in 588 (30).

Fortunatus' relationship with the church and with the bishops as his patrons remained a close one all his life. His poetry reflects all aspects of a bishop's life and work: his role as a spiritual pastor and evangelist, as a warrior on behalf of the people in a literal as well as a metaphorical sense, as a father to an extended family, as a builder and civil engineer, as focal point in local and national politics. Many of the poems are based on common traditional motifs and ideas. In themselves, in their manner of expression, though they are often short and simple, they offer tribute to a bishop's work by setting him centrally in the apostolic and evangelical tradition of the church.

A variety of relationships with these men is apparent in his poems. There are formal, public poems to Igidius and Ageric, more intimate and friendly poems to Bertram and Ragnemod, with whom in all probability Gregory and Radegund had regular and amicable contact, at least in the early days of Fortunatus' work in Poitiers. In the two poems to Bertram, indeed - one of thanks for a ride in his chariot and the second of comment on the bishop's literary attainments (31) - the poet is complimentary but speaks with the patronage of a literary mentor.

The poems to three bishops in particular - to Leontius of Bordeaux, to Felix of Nantes and Gregory of Tours - move beyond the general commonplaces of eulogy and illustrate in detail the interplay between a bishop in the individual exercise of his duties, and the poet, using

the resources of traditional literary genres.

1. Poems to Bishop Leontius of Bordeaux

The poems for Leontius and his wife date from the early years of Fortunatus' life in Gaul, the bishop dying in 570. Their noble lineage and the bishop's successful career, first in military and then in ecclesiastical matters, has already been described (32). The panegyric to Leontius, Poem 1.15, deliberately uses the format and motifs of the basilikos logos to present the portrait of a proud, sophisticated Gallo-Roman of great wealth and power, who sees himself as a true descendant of his Roman forebears in his cultural values and lifestyle, and exercises his pastoral responsibilities with expansionist, imperial zeal. The panegyric appears to be a literary work, not intended to appeal directly for a consensus omnium in support of the bishop's reign, as Poem 5.3, to the citizens of Tours, does on Gregory's behalf (33). This support is rallied by the more aggressive abecedarian Hymnus de Leontio episcopo, Poem 1.16, written apparently after the failure of a plot against Leontius (34).

The work of Leontius as Metropolitan in countering rural paganism in his province, can be seen reflected in several of Fortunatus' poems to him. Poem 1.8 praises the restoration of a basilica of St. Vincent, Poem 1.9 celebrates the establishment of a martyrium containing a relic of St. Vincent at Vernemet, on the banks of the Garonne, some eight kilometres from Pompejac and about seventy-three from Bordeaux (35).

It seems likely that Leontius had acquired his relic of this saint, venerated in Saragossa, when he accompanied Childebert I on his expedition to Spain in 531 (36). Like the king, he too built a shrine in honour of the saint, using the power of the Christian martyrs to supersede the pagan deity previously worshipped on that spot (37), doubtless being highly gratified by the miracle the saint promptly produced on the dedication of the shrine (38). It is probable that Leontius' dedication of a shrine to St. Nazarius about five kilometres from Sainte-Foy in the Dordogne, Poem 1.10, also represents part of the bishop's campaign to replace pagan with Christian focal points for worship and veneration (39). The church of St. Denis, the subject of Poem 1.11, may represent the restoration of an oratory on a church estate, which Leontius had inherited and which he had renovated to serve the local population (40).

Poems about churches dedicated to the episcopal patrons of Saintes, St. Eutropius, the first bishop of the town, and St. Bibianus, the third bishop, also reveal a policy of consolidation of control within Leontius' province (41). At some time between 563 and 567, Leontius was involved in a bitter dispute with Charibert over the bishop's attempted expulsion of Eumerius from the See of Saintes, a dispute which Leontius lost at the cost of a fine of 1,000 gold pieces (42). Poems 1.12 and 13, written after this dispute, celebrate the building work of Leontius in the city. Maille and Maurin have seen in the poems evidence of a reconciliation between Leontius and Eumerius (43). Brennan, however, observes the pointed contrast made in the two poems between the ways in which Leontius and Eumerius have risen to the challenge

of inherited building programmes, and the reference to the special summons of Leontius, not Eumerius, by St. Eutropius to this task, and to his magnificent response to the saint. Both poems were intended to be set as inscriptions in the churches (44). Given this, the emphasis on Leontius' supreme power as Metropolitan over Saintes in Poem 1.13 can be seen as an assertion of his ecclesiastical dominance over Eumerius and the See of Saintes. Brennan's argument therefore seems convincing (45).

The reference to Placidina as joint donor with Leontius of church plate in Poem 1.14, to her work on the church of St. Bibianus, the mini-encomium to her in the panegyric to Leontius and the poem of greeting to her alone identify her as a wealthy and active partner to her husband in his work (46).

Fortunatus' poems for the couple thus reflect the scope of Leontius' work, giving a clear-cut and strongly characterised image of the bishop. His pride in his Romanitas, his powerful and autocratic character come through clearly both in the terms of praise in Poem 1.15 and in the policies seen behind the buildings praised in the other poems. These characteristics are also illuminated interestingly by the three poems in celebration of Leontius' villas, Poems 1.18, 19 and 20.

In the period between the accession of Childebert I as king in Paris in 511 and the death of Charibert in 567, Bordeaux enjoyed a long period of firm rule by the Parisian kings and the benefit of a succession of notable Gallo-Roman bishops, Leontius among them. The three villas of these poems are to be seen as part of Leontius' energetic policy of

building, restoration and expansion, undertaken in these favourable conditions. All three are within reach of Bordeaux. Bissonum (Besson) lies on the Medoc and just off the Roman road seven miles to the south-west of the town (47). The villa Vereginis (Baurech) lies on the banks of the Garonne and is easily accessible by road (48). The villa Praemiacum (Preignac) is also on the river, though higher up than Baurech (49). All three villas have estates attached (50): Bissonum and Praemiacum have baths (51), Vereginis is set into the hillside in a position typical of a classical villa site and is remarkable for its triple arcade and its ornamental pool with a fine fountain (52). Though the sites have been identified approximately, our knowledge of the villas comes from Fortunatus' evidence rather than from any archaeological data. The picture is very much one of the villas in the classical pattern which stretched back through Sidonius, Ausonius, Statius and Pliny to the Roman Republic (53). The villa is an essential complement to the owner's town establishment, the estate providing supplies, the villa offering a peaceful retreat which is yet within easy reach of the town should the need to return arise. It is fully stocked with all cultural amenities according to the owner's taste, enabling him to study, entertain, fish or hunt as he pleases (54).

In contrast to this original peaceful and well-founded pattern of life, changes in economic and political circumstances had forced retraction at certain periods before the sixth century. In areas of Gaul in the fifth century, baths fell into disuse and central rooms were used as workrooms or cemeteries, because of economic and political pressures (55). In addition, military threats produced a range of modifications to the unfortified villa, from Sidonius' Burgus Pontii

Leontii, which seems essentially an ordinary villa surrounded by a defensive wall (56), to the unusual and elaborately fortified villa at Pfalzel (57).

In turn the re-establishment of peace and the development of a powerful and protective urban centre promoted a period of rebuilding and expansion of unfortified villa sites. The defeat of the Germans by Valentinian and the rise of Trier as an imperial capital stimulated such growth at that period (58). Similarly, we may deduce that there is such a connection between the wealth and political stability of the Bordeaux area at this time and Leontius' work on these villas.

Descriptions of the villas of Leontius and that of Nicetius of Trier in Poem 3.12 in Fortunatus' poems show how the Gallic bishops, many of them Gallo-Romans following family traditions, maintained this classical life-style, for social and economic reasons. Gregory too occasionally mentions bishops with their villas in the countryside (59). These were sometimes the bishop's private and personal estates. At times they were estates willed to the church, which had by this period become a considerable landowner (60). Duke Chrodinus, for example, whom Fortunatus praises for his generosity and charity, laid out, stocked and manned new estates and then handed them over to indigent bishops (61).

In the case of the Bordeaux villas, Fortunatus notes that all three are on established sites (62) and have been restored and renovated by Leontius. Bissonum, formerly an attractive and well-built villa (63), appears to have been abandoned or allowed to fall into a bad state of disrepair (lines 9-10), like the fifth century sites noted above. Leontius has brought it back to life:

nunc quoque prosperius velut aula sepulta resurgit
et favet auctori vivificata suo.

(lines 13-14)

(Now too the dwelling arises even more splendidly, as it
were, from the tomb, and, given new life, blesses its
author).

The attractions of Vereginis are likewise due to Leontius' restoration (64). Praemiacum seems to have been in better condition before Leontius began work, since he is only hailed as its consolidator (65). But even here he is clearly taking advantage of this fact and working on further extensions (line 24). The emphasis on the baths and fountains clearly indicates that all this work continues the classical style of Roman villa life.

Fortunatus begins the first of the three poems, on the villa at Bissonum, with the evocative phrase est locus, with its overtones of hallowed groves or epic settings of a long tradition (66). The scene is sketched in the first four lines in the lush terms of a classical locus amoenus with its verdant well-watered greenery and scented flowers. As usual, there are no precise echoes of Vergilian or Ovidian phrases. The atmosphere is created by the details of the scene and the vocabulary associated with such a setting.

This hazy, evocative picture summons up an idyllic tradition but produces no clear and identifiable features of a particular place at a particular time. The more precise identification is given in terms of

people: incola ... vocat hunc (line 5), qua possessor ... locavit (line 7). Its location is fixed in terms of the proximity to Bordeaux. This link is with a town with its buildings, and the people who identify Bissonum are mentioned as builders or inhabitants of buildings (incola, possessor, auctor). The first clear detail of the scene is of the buildings which were formerly there (lines 7-8) and this sets the tone for the eulogy of Leontius' work. The value of the place, its central feature and the focus of the poem is the building Leontius has been responsible for.

The second aspect of the building Fortunatus stresses is the fact that Leontius, by his work, has re-established traditional ways of life: revocat (line 11), resurgit (line 13) and above all:

reddidit interea prisco nova balnea cultu,
quo recreant fessos blanda lavacra viros.

(lines 15-16)

(Meanwhile, he restored the baths, new ones in the time-honoured style, where soothing water refreshes weary men).

The countryside in contrast is merely the background for this activity: raw material which needs unceasing labor (line 11) to be inhabitable. This word evokes Vergil's labor omnia vincit / improbis (67), but lacks Vergil's conviction that, though the work is hard, it can and does overcome nature. For Fortunatus, man's effort sometimes fails. The result is the situation before Leontius set to work:

straverat ipsa solo senio rapiente vetustas,
perdiderat vultum forma decora suum.

(lines 9-10)

(The passage of time itself had laid low (the villa) *by the*
ravages of age, fine shapes had lost their *features*).

Here all that really matters has crumbled away. The archaeological evidence of the semi-deserted or abandoned fifth century Gallic villas gives tangible evidence of what Fortunatus is seeing in the sixth. The crumbling walls, overgrown with moss and weeds, are the blurred features he sees in perdiderat vultum forma decora suum. And such a place can no longer be inhabited by man, only by the wolves (Poem 1.18.17-18).

The countryside as such has no value: it is merely a setting for human occupation - a gracious one if the occupation is civilised. There is no sense of the practical link between the country and man's existence. Vergil's labor was directed at raising crops and herds, Leontius' at raising porticos. Improvement for Leontius in this image does not include husbandry. Life at that basic level has no interest: it only has value when it is a leisured, civilised, Roman-style existence, which recreates the appearance, though not the substance, of earlier villa life.

The other two villa poems show the same literary approach and nostalgic values. Poem 1.19 is a more direct description of a pleasant setting, without the locus amoenus overtones of Poem 1.18, but with the same emphasis on impressive buildings in the classical tradition.

The description of the beautiful natural surroundings of the villa in Poem 1.20 again stresses the importance of this feature as a setting for the Roman culture contained within it and the value of Leontius' work as the upholder of this culture (Poem 1.20.19-20). Lines 7 to 18 in this poem give a rich and evocative picture of verdant, wellwatered and shaded country. Here, unlike Poem 1.18, these desirable qualities are directly attributed to Leontius:

sed te quaerebant haec munera tanta, Leonti:
solus defueras qui bona plena dares.

(lines 19-20)

(These great benefits needed only you, Leontius:
you alone were required to complete such
blessings).

Nature, then, in these poems is seen at best as a pleasant setting for man's achievements, though not contributing any more positively than that and being presumably an equally pretty setting for the wolves. At worst it is an agent for the personified vetustas (Poem 1.18.9), when Fortunatus sees the weeds and wolves repossessing fine halls and baths.

In earlier writers about villas nature is an element which is there to provide the raw material for man's creative efforts, to be tamed and improved to the standards set by man's civilisation (68). This improvement is something which has always been achieved. Even Ausonius' villas along the Moselle, with a history of political and economic stress, are seen in a setting where everything is directed to

human sustenance and pleasure (69). There is no sense of toil, still less of unavailing toil, though the general optimistic and laudatory tenor of that poem should be borne in mind in considering this point.

For Fortunatus, however, nature is part of a threat to which the civilised way of life has in part already succumbed. The pleasant landscape is still there as a framework to the villa, as it always was. But the constant re-iteration of the need to build, to restore, to extend, reflects the realisation that this way of life will not go on for ever unless deliberate and constant hard work is put to maintaining it. If it is not maintained, the wilderness will take over.

With this view comes a new perception of the villa owner. Pliny, Statius, Sidonius and Ausonius have an unquestioning and unselfconscious acceptance of that way of life. These three poems represent Leontius taking a conscious stance as perpetuator of the tradition of villa ownership - consolidator -, as deliberately choosing to restore the tradition and the buildings which embody it. He is still a villa owner in the old Roman pattern but contemporary circumstances have made that role worthy of note in itself. This conscious stance might well be compared to the selfconsciousness of country house owners in England after the Restoration: Fortunatus' poems have a similarity to Andrew Marvell's works in reflecting these attitudes (70). Furthermore, the deliberate choice to return to these values, to re-establish the old Roman way of life, in the face of other possibilities, might conceivably be seen as the start of what is seen so much more strongly much later in the Renaissance: the vision of antiquity as a discrete world whose values and life-style

are not, or are not necessarily, those of the writer's time and are therefore the subject of conscious choice or rejection (71).

These three poems, therefore, reflect back to Leontius his prized Romanitas with their picture of the life-style of a Roman aristocrat, with their echoes of classical nature writing and, as observed before in other cases, by the very fact that they are written and declaimed by a Latin poet. The reflection does not reflect anything of substance, however. The reality of the classical world, of Leontius' ancestors, no longer exists. Baths and fountains have to be restored with great effort and as a matter of deliberate choice. The veneer of civilisation is, and has proved to be, thin and fragile. It might indeed be argued that it was only the veneer that Leontius in fact wanted. The panegyric emphasised the power and might of the bishop's position, without the practical pastoral care for his people shown by Gregory in Poem 5.3 and elsewhere. The poems on his churches reveal a spectacular programme of ecclesiastical colonisation, but little of the concern for the everyday needs of town or country people shown by Nicetius of Trier (Poem 3.12, especially lines 37-42) or Felix of Nantes (for example, Poem 3.10). These poems concentrate on the splendour of the villas, with none of the interest of Sidonius or Pliny in the land which supports them and makes that style of life possible. It is a very "country weekender's" view of a villa. At the same time it is interesting that there is no mention of an oratory at any of Leontius' villas. Oratories with private clergy were established even by rich laymen at this time (72). From the time of Sidonius an oratory is a normal feature of a villa and is recorded as

such (73). There may well have been oratories in Leontius' villas. But it is the classical, not the Christian, features the bishop wants to have recorded: the fishpond and portico rather than the shrine.

The picture of Leontius that emerges from all these poems is consistent and clear-cut. A Gallo-Roman, always conscious of his pedigree and cultural heritage, seeing his ecclesiastical role as a continuation of the administrative and governmental posts held by his forefathers, his building programme as the outward sign of his strength and the means of consolidation of his power. For him Fortunatus deploys the genre of panegyric in its most formal mode. The encomia and descriptive writings are grandiose, deliberately evoking a nostalgic Roman atmosphere. There is no feeling of intimacy or friendship between poet and patron. The relationship, like the poems, is formal and ceremonious.

2. Poems for Bishop Felix of Nantes

Felix of Nantes, to whom a second collection of poems was addressed, was also a Gallo-Roman of notable family (74), an energetic builder and a stalwart defender of his people from the Bretons. Fortunatus wrote for him Poem 5.7 and the cluster of poems, 3.4-10.

Poem 3.4 is a letter written in reply to one to Fortunatus from Felix. The bishop has apparently written in praise of the poet (sect.4) from somewhere to the west of Fortunatus (sect.2). The poet describes

himself idling on the seashore when Felix' letter arrives (sect.1). The style and diction of the letter is convoluted and difficult to understand. Fortunatus' description of what Felix has sent him appears to suggest that it was a prose epistle with verse sections. The quotations from the letter in sections 9, 10, and 11 are prose passages, but section 3 seems to refer to verse. The first sentence of that section might (with difficulty) be translated as:

For I considered that the four stanzas were put together as if by that Pindaric genius (i.e. Horace, as in Poem 5.6.7), bonded by the cement of prose, and that the thought flowed richly, giving birth to a reasoned chain of argument interwoven with complexities, with foreign sophistications. (75)

The word suggillatus is only elsewhere used to mean "beaten, insulted, beaten to death" (76), which cannot make any sense complimentary to Felix. However obscure or corrupt the text is, the general sense, however, seems to be that Felix' missive to Fortunatus contained both prose and verse, as this reply itself does.

The letter is encrusted with references to Greek mythology (sect.3, 5, 9) and the concluding verse suggests that Felix could of course have understood a Greek tribute, had the poet been capable of writing one. The reference to Pindaric skills probably refers to Horatian lyric verse of some kind, such as the "Sapphic" verse Fortunatus writes for Gregory in Poem 9.7 (77). There he links the names of the two poets in reference to their use of hendecasyllables:

Pindarus Graius, meus inde Flaccus

Sapphico metro ...

... blando

carmine lusit.

(lines 9-12)

(Greek Pindar and then my Flaccus created pleasing verse ...
in Sapphic metre).

In all likelihood the Greek references reflect Felix' interest in what he knew through the medium of Latin, or, at the most, are a tribute to a slight knowledge of the language (78). The verse reference to Greek is subtle flattery, without the risk of putting Felix' skill to the test.

Fortunatus also compliments Felix on the intricacy of his argument (sect.3). One can wonder what the original letter must have been like if the writer of such a tortuous and convoluted reply as Fortunatus' compliments his correspondent on such an achievement. Bishop Domnolus of Le Mans had perhaps good reason for his reluctance to be posted to Avignon, requesting the king

nec permitteret simplicitatem illius inter senatores
sophisticos ac iudices philosophicos fatigari ... (79).

(... that the king should not allow an unsophisticated
person such as himself to be vexed by the company of clever
senators and philosophising judges ...).

Fortunatus' letter draws an idle holiday picture of the poet, coming

on him oscitantem prope finitima pelagi ... et litorali diutius in margine decubantem (drowsing on the sea's edge ... stretched out for ages on the beach) (sect.1). In contrast with the poet's passivity, Felix' dynamic vigour breaks upon the peace of this scene: the word Fluctus pivots the metaphor from the literal sea-spray one expects in reading on from Fortunatus' description of his circumstances, to the salt of Felix' wit and sense. The imagery of brightness and sound, a natural development from a sea-scene, is taken to extravagant lengths to compliment Felix on the impact of his missive, with a thorough mix of the metaphors of sight and sound (sect.2.ff.).

We can deduce from what Fortunatus goes on to say that his letter is written in response to Felix' praise of himself (sect.4 and 12). Felix' wish is apparently that Fortunatus should have spent some time with him (sect.9) and furthered their acquaintance (sect.10). Section 11 might be interpreted as implying that Felix had reproached the poet with burying himself in a backwater. Mention is made of Radegund, possibly at a time when Felix had signed the bishops' letter in support of her community. This letter gives the impression very much of echoing back to Felix what the bishop himself has said. Fortunatus addresses him formally, interweaving literary Greek references and concocting elaborate compliments. He acknowledges the power and status of the bishop (sect.6 and 13) but these are peripheral to the focus of the letter, which is the literary tie of interest between the two men. If there was any invitation or specific request, this is politely sidestepped in the return of compliments to this powerful patron.

The next poem is a neat little encomium, taking its shape from an acrostic of the letters of Fortunatus' own name. The emphasis is especially on Felix' warfare against the Bretons, a stress which is supported by a nautical metaphor appropriate to the bishop of Nantes (line 6). The tribute plays on the meaning of the name Felix and, as in the villa poems to Leontius, characterises the virtue of the bishop's achievement as lying in the restitution of the glorious Gallo-Roman past:

temporibus nostris gaudia prisca ferens.

(line 4)

(bringing olden joys to our times).

Poems 3.6 and 3.7 centre on the dedication of Felix' cathedral in Nantes, an event which took place some time around 567 and certainly before the death of Eufronius of Tours in 573. Poem 3.6 pictures the gathering of bishops for the occasion. The central figure is Eufronius himself, who presided at Tours over the national council of Charibert's kingdom on November 18th, 567. It was probably on that occasion that the letter signed by the seven bishops was addressed in support of Radegund (80). Present also at the dedication in Nantes was Domitianus, Bishop of Angers from about 550 to at least 567 (81). He was present at the two royal councils of Charibert in Paris and Tours, and signed the pastoral letter of the bishops of the province of Tours and that of the seven bishops to Radegund. He is mentioned by Fortunatus as inviting the poet to the feast of St. Albinus (82) and

the poet's Vita Albini was dedicated to him. Victorius, Bishop of Rennes, was present on this occasion and at the 567 council, signing the letter to Radegund (83). Also present was Domnolus, Bishop of Le Mans, formerly Abbot of Saint-Laurent in Paris, another signatory to both the letters emanating from the Council of Tours (84). The final figure is Romacharius, Bishop of Coutances. He is mentioned by Gregory as celebrating the funeral of his Metropolitan, Praetextatus (85), who was one of the signatories of Radegund's letter, and so may be supposed to be representing him here on this occasion. The ceremony was therefore a grand occasion, attended by a gathering of all the powerful bishops of Charibert's kingdom, men who are seen acting together on other occasions and with strong connections with Tours and Poitiers.

We may look first at Poem 3.7, which describes the cathedral itself, written in honore eorum quorum ibi reliquiae continentur. The description of the building is often obscure and difficult to translate into practical terms, but clearly is of a building with some remarkable features. It has three main sections - aulae forma triformis (line 27) - possibly three naves, each ending in an apse, an oriental design (86). A tower is superimposed on the centre of the building (lines 31-34). Mâle argues convincingly that lines 35 onwards imply that there is a central cupola, raised on arches and decorated inside with mosaics which reflected "the rays of the sun with more than oriental splendour". Light is the striking feature of the cathedral: the metal-shod roof (lines 41-44), the candelabra in the building shining out from the windows, inspiring the image of a far-seen beacon (lines 45-46). Fortunatus' description seems to be

deliberately reminiscent of the description of the dedication of Solomon's temple and the part played there by light and brilliance (87), since he explicitly compares the two buildings in Poem 3.6. The cathedral must have presented a remarkable appearance, an unusual combination of oriental and hellenistic features, and with rich furnishings and decoration similar to that of St. Martin's at Tours and St. Antolianus' in Clermont (88). M^âle's conjecture that the design may stem from Felix' observations as a pilgrim in the East may give more point to the reference to Asia Minor in Poem 3.7.1 and 2. The references are appropriate enough anyhow to a new and magnificent building, one which is compared in the previous poem to Solomon's temple, but would have extra point if this conjecture were correct.

The cathedral was a remarkable and impressive achievement, especially in a diocese continually under threat from the Bretons. There is a sense of that context in the military allusions in lines 15-16, and 19-20, which, like the encomium of Poem 3.5, reflect the warrior nature of the bishop. The poem is a celebration of the great Gallic saints, Hilary and Ferreolus, and of Peter and Paul, and is set in terms which reflect their significance to the church in relevant imagery. Light is a central feature of the building, constantly noted (lines 5-6, 21-22, 41 ff.), light which is that of Christian revelation (line 21 ff.). Peter is the foundation rock of the church, Paul its architect (lines 11-12).

The poem celebrating the actual dedication ceremony of the cathedral, Poem 3.6, starts with a comparison with the dedication of Solomon's temple, a comparison made very much in Felix' favour (lines

7-8). No longer are the sacrifices those of the Old Testament, the sacrifices of animals. The church leaders who are summoned to this ceremony, moreover, are in the New Testament tradition, the successors to Peter and Paul within the church (lines 11-12). The people are now offered true salvation. Fortunatus uses a tableau in the rhetorical tradition to draw, in terms of New Testament imagery, a picture of the church as the body of Christ on earth, seen here in the array of bishops present at the ceremony, surrounding Felix in an impressive display of ecclesiastical power and unity (lines 19-28). The bishops are listed individually, to give full weight to the scene.

The poet then emphasises the long and hard work of Felix which resulted in this achievement - and the relief that the completion of the task has been to him (lines 29-42). The focus of the poem then narrows to Felix himself, the centre of the people's attention and gratitude, the centre of the ceremonies (lines 45 ff.). There is a brief and vivid sketch of the procession and the celebrations in lines 47-48. But then the thought returns to Felix himself and his labours, the role he plays in offering up praise (line 51 ff.). Coming in full circle, Fortunatus returns to the theme of service and sacrifice in the final lines of the poem. In the command to give praise -

nunc domini laudes inter tua classica canta
et trinitatis opem machina trina sonet

(lines 52-53)

(Now sing the Lord's praise amongst your trumpets, let
the triple creation resound the praises of the Trinity) -

the phrase machina trina may have a double reference: to the created world, the composite of earth, sea and sky (89), and, referring back to the building itself, to the aulae forma triformis of Poem 3.7.27 (90). Then Felix must offer up the sacrifices to the Lord in the transformation of the Old Testament ritual, himself a spotless offering (lines 53-54).

The poem, using rhetorical visual techniques, emphasises strongly the visual impact of the ceremony itself, with the impressive formal array of bishops. The occasion is perhaps even more significant if it took place after the death of Charibert at some time in late 567 or early 568, when that part of the kingdom should have gone to Sigibert but was claimed instead with violence by Chilperic - a period of uncertainty and fear. There is little mention of the lesser orders of clerics and lay people. They are present as the passive recipients of what Felix offers, for example -

prospera dans populis et gaudia large per urbem

(line 43)

(freely giving prosperity and ~~countless~~ joy to the people
throughout the city) -

or standing on the fringes of the procession - plebs inde choraulis
(line 47).

An interesting comparison can be made with the poem written about the Parisian clergy and dated to this same period, before the death of Bishop Germanus of Paris in 576. That poem, 2.9, sets a far more personal and intimate tone immediately with a modest and somewhat

humorous disclaimer of the poet's skill, addressed to all the clergy (line 1 ff.). Once started, Fortunatus paints a vivid and detailed picture of the clergy in procession, the priests and deacons in their bright red and white vestments, Germanus in their centre (line 27). The military imagery in this poem has been observed already (91). In addition, like the poem to Felix (Poem 3.6), this poem dwells upon the difference between the New and Old Testaments, in the Pauline imagery of the old foreshadowing the new (lines 35 ff.). Germanus' concern for his people's welfare and his performance of priestly duties are emphasised (lines 39 ff.). The final description of the early morning service (lines 49 ff.) dwells on all that everyone contributes - the different instruments played, the differing abilities of the players (lines 61-62). It is a lively description, using the rhetorical motif of the young/old antithesis to give a humorous, almost Hardy-like account of the local church band:

hinc puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis,
inde senis largam ructat ab ore tubam.

(lines 56-57)

(Here ~~the~~ *the* ~~last~~ *last* ~~accompanies~~ *accompanies* on the organ with its tiny pipes, here the old man belches out the note of the huge trumpet from his lips). (92)

The picture is of one and all being of some importance and worthy of note:

pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit et infans.

(line 69)

(At the command of their bishop, clergy, people and even
babes sing the psalms).

Germanus is central in importance but his concern in turn is for his
people:

sub duce Germano felix exercitus hic est ...

(line 71)

(Under Germanus' leadership, this host is blessed...).

By contrast, the picture of Felix' ceremony is one of massed clerical authority and power, at the episcopal level. There is no comment on personal details, on the colour of robes, on the music, or on the contributions of others to the ceremony. The focal point is the achievement of Felix' ambitious plan and the demonstration of national episcopal solidarity it evokes. Only the poem on the building itself evokes Fortunatus' powers of detailed observation and lively visual description. The benefit to the people and their involvement in the ceremony are only of marginal interest (lines 15-18, 43, 47). The dedication of a new cathedral is primarily, by its very nature, a high-level occasion of national political and ecclesiastical significance. The two poems on this subject reinforce the impression given by the letter of a certain grandeur, formality and aristocratic distance from banal personal trivia. In the splendour of his building, in the united array of the assembled bishops and in his active

interest in Roman culture, Felix, like Leontius of Bordeaux, is being celebrated for his visible power and Romanitas.

The next poem to Felix, Poem 3.8, the encomium celebrating his festiva dies, has already been discussed in the chapter on panegyric. The impression given by that poem of Felix' character and interest and his relationship to his people and to Fortunatus further supports the conclusions drawn from these first poems. Felix is praised in the panegyric for his care and guidance of his country, for his learning and eloquence, his justice and his re-establishment of Romanitas-

cuius in ingenium hic nova Roma venit.

(Poem 3.8.20)

(In your qualities, Rome lives anew ~~here~~).

It is noteworthy that here again, as in the villa poems to Leontius, there is the sense that the classical world of Rome is starting to be felt as a discrete world, whose values and way of life have to be re-introduced, rather than merely continued.

The bishop's care and protection of his people, especially in protecting them from the marauding Bretons, is emphasised. Felix, like Leontius of Bordeaux, is a Gallo-Roman of impressive ancestry, well-educated, with an active interest in literature, though necessarily more energetic in his defence of his land and people than is Leontius. Unlike the panegyric to Gregory, the poem appears to be written as a literary tribute, flattering in its form as well as in its content. It does not involve the people themselves in any role

except as recipients of Felix' care and protection, in contrast to the positive involvement of the people of Tours in the acclamation of Gregory.

This image accords with that produced by the earlier poems discussed. Felix appears as a grand, formidable and rather remote figure. A powerful ruler, a fighter and a builder, he is shown as protecting his people at this level rather than by the personal and detailed concern for their welfare Fortunatus attributes to Germanus, Gregory and Nicetius of Trier.

This practical and ambitious energy appears again in Poem 3.10, a poem praising Felix' efforts in diverting the course of a river. The poem is cast in epic style. The achievement is hailed as surpassing the epic deeds of the Greek heroes. *If Homer had witnessed it -*

cuncti Felicem legerent modo, nullus Achillem,

(line 5)

(all would now read of Felix, not of Achilles),

and described in vividly antithetical and appropriately grandiose terms:

erigis hic vallem subdens ad concava montem,

(line 11)

(You raise here a valley on high, hollowing out a mountain to lay it low),

and

mons in valle sedet, vallis in alta subit.

(line 14)

(A mountain lies in the valley, a valley towers on high).

These rhetorical motifs of extraordinary reversal (lines 11-20) are sharpened by the wordplay of repra / plaustra contrast in line 16 and give a traditional classical tone, intensified by the literary echoes in two phrases. Aggere composito (line 9) is reminiscent of Vergil's aggere composito tumuli (93): Ovid's seges clypeata virorum (94) is recalled by seges orta virorum in line 23. The focus is primarily on the epic nature of the task and secondarily on the consequences of food for Felix' people. A heroic deed may be done incidentally for the benefit of others but it is the nature of the deed itself and the attitude of the doer which makes it heroic. The content and the presentation of this encomium, though it may be mock as much as heroic, clearly treat Felix as a hero in an epic tradition.

A contrast highlights this point. The poem to Nicetius of Trier (Poem 3.12), is very different in its mode of presentation of the building work of a bishop on behalf of his people. Trier, even more than Nantes, was on the fringes of the settled world and vulnerable to attack from without. The archaeological evidence suggests an isolated community, existing at a basic survival level (95). Nicetius was a very different bishop from Felix. Unlike the aristocratic Gallo-Roman with sophisticated literary tastes, he came from a humble background

and lived a life of monastic simplicity. His letter to the Emperor Justinian, rebuking the emperor for the affair of the Three Chapters, is rough and plain, committing the ultimate solecism of hailing the emperor casually as dulcis noster Iustinianus (96). His concern for the growth of the church in more than material terms can be seen reflected in Fortunatus' picture of the vir apostolicus pushing back ecclesiastical frontiers (97). In Poem 3.12 the poet presents the formidable task of building the castellum at Trier as the creation of an idyllic haven for the people of the town. The imposing site with its natural riches is presented in terms which recall Ausonius' account of the Moselle or Statius' descriptions of the awesome features of nature (98)

Nicetius and his work are then introduced:

hoc vir apostolicus Nicetius ergo peragrans,
condidit optatum pastor ovile gregi.

(lines 19-20)

(Thus that apostolic man, Nicetius, wandering through, as a shepherd formed a needful fold for his flock).

Vir apostolicus and pastor in particular identify Nicetius' attitude to his people, his view of his own role. The "sheepfold" is as impressive an engineering feat as Felix':

aula tamen nituit constructa cacumine rupis,
et monti imposito mons erit ipsa domus.

(lines 25-26)

(However the palace stands in splendour, built on a rocky pinnacle: the halls themselves will be a mountain, built upon the mountain).

The palace has stylish marble columns and a marvellous view out over the river (lines 29-30); the defences are sound and well-positioned (lines 33-36). The tone of the poem is a very classical one, with general echoes of villa and nature descriptions in Statius, Ovid, Ausonius and one close echo of Vergil: sinuosa canalibus unda (line 37) echoes Vergil's phrase currentem ... canalibus undam (99). But Nicetius' purpose in all this labour is presented as his care to protect his people and to ensure their peaceful enjoyment of all the fruits of nature. His energy and efficiency ~~are~~ commendable and can be lauded in traditional classical terms as a preservation of civilisation and harmony. But it is essentially the work of a Christian bishop carrying out his pastoral duties: it is not the work of a heroic individual standing in the isolation of single combat with the inconvenience of nature. The poem ends explicitly with that point:

haec tibi proficiunt quidquid laudamus in illis,
qui bona tot tribuis, pastor ~~opime~~ gregis.

(lines 43-44)

(All that we praise in this is to your merit, you who give benefit so generously, ~~splendid~~ shepherd of your flock).

The difference between the two bishops is also reflected in the distinction between the formal and elaborate panegyric to Felix, Poem 3.8, and Poem 3.11, a short poem of praise to Nicetius. Again this praises him for his spiritual and pastoral care of his people, as a good shepherd who maintains and rebuilds his churches (lines 21-22) but whose attention is very much directed to the cares and sufferings of his people.

Poem 5.7 is a short reply to an invitation to visit Felix, in tones of respectful literary admiration, which does not actually say whether he was accepting or not. The stately and formal apostrophe of the eminent bishop in the first two lines is modified somewhat by Fortunatus' personal tribute of friendship, especially by the joke in line 4. This combination of a modesty topos and the modulated care strikes a note of respectful friendship and admiration (100). Felix is complimented on the beauties of his lands and rivers in terms reminiscent of classical nature description, with a neat personal compliment in the last line. The compliment and the style in which it is paid reflect back to Felix his obvious pride and concern for his domains and his literary interests, characteristics which have shown clearly in the other poems so far considered.

The final poem in this group addressed to Felix is the Easter poem, Poem 3.9, perhaps one of Fortunatus' finest poems. The poem is written for the celebration of Easter, on the subject of spring and rebirth (101). The first thirty lines describe the impact of the season: the exhilaration of the longer days and the bright sunshine (rutilant,

maiore ... lumine, ignivomum, armatis radiis, nocte brevi, splendida ...
aethera, sidera clara, in lines 1-8), the earth bursting with new
growth. The description emphasises the visual splendour of the season:
purpureum, virent, micat, stellantia lumina, arridentque oculis
gramina tincta suis, in lines 9-14. Lines 15-24 describe the rebirth
of crops and vineyards and trees, and lines 25-30, of the bees and the
birds. Lines 31-32 explain this joyful activity as the reaction of the
earth to the rebirth of its creator: the earth comes to life as Christ
is resurrected, the joy and happiness expressed in the description of
springtime being nature's tribute to her creator (lines 43-46).
Fortunatus humbly includes himself amongst those beings giving praise,
and then directly addresses a hymn of praise to Christ as Creator and
Redeemer of the world, who has overcome death and won for man the
glorious prospect of eternal life (lines 47-94). The credal terms in
which Christ is addressed in lines 47 onwards not only set the tone of
solemn invocation in contrast to the effervescent activity of nature
just described: they also base the concept of Christ as Creator and
Redeemer, on which the poem focuses, on sound and orthodox trinitarian
doctrine. The redemption of mankind is then put in terms which echo
the emphasis on light and brightness already noted in the first
section. Death's darkness (tenebrae, line 63; tetrae noctis pallia
crassa, line 64; catenatas inferni carceris umbras, line 73) is set
against the light of the third day (luminis ore, line 62; fulgore,
line 63; tertia lux, line 66; lumen, line 75; diem, line 76). The
motif is then followed through in terms which emphasise the visual and
symbolic brightness of this day of Easter baptism (radiat -
metaphorically -, line 89; candidus ... nitidis, line 91; fulgentes ..

candida, line 93; niveo, line 94). The final section uses the pastoral motifs of flocks and fruitful crops already introduced to address the poem to Felix in praise of his pastoral care (lines 95-110).

Though this final address to Felix is in terms of his pastoral work and human moral virtue, the first word of the poem - tempora - focuses on the main preoccupation of the poem, Easter Day and Eastertide. The poem is addressed to Felix but is not primarily about him. It is a celebration of the day itself - festā diēs (lines 39-46) - in terms of the spontaneous reaction of joy by nature to Christ's resurrection. This focus for the activity and growth described in the first thirty lines is explained in lines 31-32 and further emphasised by the address to the holy day in lines 39-46, by the repetition of tibi, with its personification of the day, which follows through the attribution to nature and to this season of human feelings and reactions. The fact that it is nature herself who reacts so strongly and so independently is underlined by the almost total absence of human beings from this pastoral scene: a harvest of necessity implies a harvester but he is not actually visible and certainly not contributing any human effort to the spontaneous growth and activity of nature herself (line 16).

The second section explains the reason for nature's reaction, stating Christ's nature and redemption of the world in credal terms. Nature rejoices because man has been saved. Both are equally divine creations and the one part of creation rejoices when what vitiated the other part is vanquished in Christ's victory over sin and death. Nature's action is not a mere reflection of human activity, as, for example, it is when Ovidian nature mourns in sympathy with human

grief (102). Nor is it a symbol or a metaphor in any way. Nature reacts to a divine act positively and autonomously because man and nature are bound in creation in parallel and complementary existence, and the existence of each is centred on God.

This independent but complementary existence is stressed by the expression of nature's joyful reaction to Christ's resurrection in terms of light and brilliance which are then taken up in the radiant scene of Easter baptism, the effect of the Resurrection on man. Nature and man react in their own different and independent ways to the triumph of their Creator. Though the cause of nature's joy is indirectly what has happened to man, the direct reaction of both is to Christ and not to each other. Nature and man complement each other as equal parts of creation and nature is not seen as being in any way secondary in vitality and in the ability to respond autonomously to her Creator.

The connection between the second and final sections is made by referring to Christ and mankind as shepherd and sheep (lines 83-84, 93-94), a metaphor which leads smoothly on to compliments on Felix' pastoral care of his people (lines 97-98, 100, 104). The biblical metaphors of crops and harvests maintain this style of eulogy, echoing neatly in metaphorical terms the literal picture of harvest at the beginning of the poem (lines 101-102, 105-110; cf. lines 15-16). This focus for the metaphors and their familiarity prevent any weakening of the picture of a natural world which can respond vigorously and autonomously to Christ, independent of man but not unconcerned with him.

The only exception to this choice of metaphor is Fortunatus'

reference to himself as minimus passer (line 46). But this is a neat, one-line conceit, following unobtrusively on from a description of joyful birdsong. The phrase, with its New Testament overtones (103), summons up appropriately the idea of God's loving care. It is also an authorial statement, in traditional self-deprecatory style, which pivots the poem round from a description of nature to a direct personal address to Christ and later to Felix. So, though the image is again from nature, it performs its own special function and does not detract from the impact of the initial description.

At this metaphorical level the imagery is entirely biblical. At the level of descriptive writing the selection of the salient features of the scene and the style of expression present a fusion of Christian and pagan classical traditions of writing about nature without any deliberate distinction between the traditions, such as was found in the poem to Duke Lupus, Poem 7.8 (104).

Certain phrases and certain features singled out for description come primarily from the classical tradition. The overall picture of spring with its soft banks of flowers and birdsong, continues the Latin locus amoenus, springtime tradition found so typically in Vergil and Ovid. Frondea tecta nemus (line 22) recalls frondea semper / tecta in Vergil's Georgics 4.61. Resonant avibus virgulta canoris of Georgics 2.328 is echoed in line 45: avium resonant virgulta susurro. And so much of the vocabulary creates the classical scene because it is the traditional vocabulary for the subject, even if not found in phrases which directly echo a half-line in Ovid or a phrase in Vergil (105). A more significant and deliberately selected echo is found in line 9. Terra favens vario fundit munuscula fetu recalls the Messianic

golden-age imagery of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, with its reminiscence of tibi prima, puer ..., munuscula ... tellus ... fundet (106). The allusion behind this picture creates Messianic overtones and directs the description towards what will be stated as the reason for nature's joy, Christ's Resurrection.

Yet at the same time there are words and phrases which point to the strong influence of Christian authors nearer to Fortunatus' own time. Floriger in line 1, ignivomus in line 3, and lactans in line 15 are three words only found in Christian writers familiar to Fortunatus (107). Some features of the scene also seem specially selected to evoke specifically Christian ideas. The emphasis on radiant light, together with the phrase porta patet in line 2, has overtones of heavenly existence. This picture, verbally linked with that of the white-clad candidates for baptism, suggests the heavenly reward which Christ has won for them by his victory and which they are striving to obtain through baptism. In addition, the picture suggests the reward in store for the virtuous and fruitful life of their bishop (lines 109-110). The conjunction of lacrimat and gaudia in line 17 suggests the grief of Good Friday and the joy of Easter Day. The juxtaposition of wine and water in line 18 has also clear significance beyond its literal contribution to the picture, arousing associations with the elements of the eucharist, and the sacrifice of Christ they represent.

A most interesting parallel is to be found in ~~three~~ of the poems by Paulinus of Nola in celebration of the feast day of St. Felix (108). It may reasonably be conjectured that there are here conscious echoes of Paulinus, because the identity of names enables him to pay his

Felix the subtle compliment of linking him, however slightly, with Paulinus' Felix (109). In Paulinus, the earth rejoices at the day, as it does at Easter Day in Fortunatus' poem:

omnia gaudent
 terrarum et caeli, ridere videtur apertis
 aethra poliis, -- (Poem 14.45-47)

(Everything in earth and heaven rejoices, the firmament seems to smile with unclouded stars),

and

cernite laetitiam mundi in splendore diei
 elucere sacris insignibus.

(Poem 18.16-17)

(Behold the world's joy shines forth in noble ritual with the glory of the day).

Venit festa dies in Paulinus (110) is similar to salve, festa dies in Fortunatus (line 39). Paulinus too draws a classical picture of the advent of spring in terms which are more packed with close echoes than Fortunatus' (111). He also speaks of birdsong coming with the spring and then likens himself to a bird singing in praise, like Fortunatus' minimus passer. The reference to Paulinus is clear, a pleasing compliment to Felix.

This is a beautiful and stately poem, complex and evocative in its depth of Christian feeling, suited to this great church season in the

ecclesiastical year. The high quality and formal beauty of the writing, with its classical echoes, are also well suited as an offering to this powerful, cultured and aristocratic bishop. As such, it reflects a different episcopal style and character to that of Leontius. The vivid imagery, the depth of feeling, can be compared to that of the great Cross poems. To that extent they stem from Fortunatus' own nature as a Christian poet. But, as the poems to Leontius present a coherent reflection of a particular style and character, so this can be taken to be indicative of Felix' nature as a bishop.

He is a man very conscious of his Gallo-Roman ancestry. This emerges by implication from the evocative and traditional style of poetry Fortunatus addresses to him, as well as from explicit comment in the panegyric on his ancestry and his concern for Romanitas. The subjects of the poems reflect his interests and episcopal style. He was an energetic builder and civil engineer. The heroic single-minded image given to his river-work perhaps even suggests that this is more than a hobby, a folly with a purpose in the eighteenth century manner. He is a strong warrior, as is natural for a man of that background with such great responsibilities in an area unsettled by the Bretons. He is also a powerful political figure, seen using the dedication of his cathedral to make a political point or at least a political occasion.

The number and quality of works addressed to him show what an important patron to Fortunatus he was in the early years following the poet's arrival in Gaul. What can be inferred from Fortunatus' letter and poems suggests that he welcomed the poet with enthusiasm and

generosity, making good use of his services to celebrate what may well have been the most glorious occasion of his career, the dedication of the new cathedral at Nantes. But, whereas the cathedral poems on their own might suggest a Gallo-Roman aristocrat as proud and remote as Leontius, the other poems reveal other dimensions to his character. The letter (Poem 3.4) and the small acrostic poem (Poem 3.5) reveal an active literary interest and a relationship with Fortunatus in which the poet is well able to play literary mentor to the bishop and have sufficient independence to sidestep invitations. Poem 5.7 shows a tone of respectful affection. The bishop's engineering works and his military exploits show a more positive and practical concern for his people and province, a concern for which Fortunatus perhaps teases him gently in the mock-heroic style of Poem 3.10. Above all, in the Easter hymn, both men - poet and patron - may be seen to share a devout, deeply felt and joyful Christian faith.

3. Poems to Bishop Gregory of Tours

Two poems to Gregory have already been discussed to an extent: the panegyric, Poem 5.3, and the poem about the conversion of the Jews of Clermont-Ferrand by Bishop Avitus, Poem 5.5. The panegyric, presenting the newly elected bishop for the approval of his people, represents a very different style of rule from that of Leontius or Felix. The poem addresses the people simply and directly, invoking familiar and revered names to give them confidence in the choice of bishop, and, by vivid and visual allusion to New Testament parables, suggesting a

bishop who intended to protect and care for his flock.

The circumstances and intent of Poem 5.5 have been discussed already. It remains now to look more closely at some of the details of the structure and technique of the poem, and in particular at what is shown by the difference between Fortunatus' and Gregory's account of the event.

The atmosphere created by Fortunatus is one of considerable tension and threatened violence from both sides. The plebs Arverna is bifido discissa tumultu (line 17). When the synagogue is razed on Ascension Day, res inimica ruit and Avitus has to calm the Jews when, understandably, ... dabat ira truces (line 34). The Jews are initially far from convinced by Avitus' eloquence (lines 73-74). The Christians are ready to react violently to any sign of trouble (lines 75-78) and the Jews are only saved from the consequences of open fighting against a greater number by their confession of faith to Avitus and by his active intervention (lines 77 ff.).

On the sequence of events, Fortunatus' account is very close to that of Gregory, as one would expect in view of the source of his information. The main difference is in the more elaborate version given by the poet of Avitus' address to the Jews after the destruction of the synagogue. In Gregory's account, Avitus sends a message rejecting the use of force against them, calling them to join the sheep of the true shepherd and giving exile as the alternative to conversion. Fortunatus' speech is more elaborate, calling on them not to be prevented by pride from admitting error and listing the standard theological arguments of the time in proof of the recognition in the

Old Testament of the Trinity (112) (lines 35-54). Avitus, in this account, then states the credal essence of the Christian faith, the redemption of the world by the death and resurrection of Christ, and, as in Gregory's account, gives the Jews the choice of conversion or exile (lines 55-70). Gregory makes no mention of further tension between the Christians and Jews and the threat of violence from the mob which Fortunatus describes. The implication in Gregory is rather that the Jews took three days to think the matter over and came to a studied and rational conclusion. The poet gives a more dramatic impression that the threat of violence certainly hastened their decision and that Avitus had to be summoned to rescue them from a lynching mob (lines 73-84). And so this version adds a explanatory address from the Jews about their delay in reaching a decision (lines 89-98), which seems to be an expanded version of the single sentence in Gregory's account. Fortunatus' dramatic picture of the Christians about to rush on the Jews with drawn swords resolves itself into the peaceable settlement of the conflict through a verbal shift: both sides merge into the church militant in lines 99 to 102.

The story ends with the triumphant celebration of Whitsun by the unified city, the festive procession of white-clad catechumens (as in Gregory's account) and Avitus' exaltation at this conversion (lines 103-126). The live offerings of the New Testament are more precious than those of Moses (lines 127-134), a comment with more direct point to the context than in Poem 3.6 on the dedication of the cathedral at Nantes. Avitus has obtained an answer to his prayer from Christ - obtinuit votum (line 135) - in a verbal echo of line 3, where He was hailed as

... votum effectumque ministrans.

(...directing prayer and its outcome).

The final scene of the poem also echoes the beginning of the poem in the emphasis on radiance and light. The apostrophe to Christ in the first section emphasised in general the theme of light (lines 5-8). At the end of the poem there is more specifically the brilliance of the Whitsun procession (lines 117-122) and the picture of Avitus is drawn in similar terms:

inter candelabros radiabat et ipse sacerdos,
diffuso interius spiritus igne micans.

(lines 125-126)

(The priest himself was radiant amongst the lamps,
his spirit glowing inwardly with spreading fire). (113)

The theme of shepherd and sheep also runs through the poem. Of Christ Fortunatus says at the beginning:

et velut est oculus capitis qui dirigit artus,
sic pia pastoris cura gubernet oves,

(lines 9-10)

(And as it is the eye in the head which directs the
limbs, so may the loving care of the shepherd guide
his sheep),

the first line bridging neatly the motifs of light and pastoral care.

The same terms of sheep and shepherd recur in Avitus' address to the Jews (lines 55-56), in their response to him (lines 93-94) and in the final lines, rejoicing in what has been achieved (lines 135-136).

The depiction of Avitus' character and intentions as bishop is very similar to that of Gregory: a concern for devout, pastoral care. The picture is irradiated by the joy of this spiritual victory, especially coming, as it does, for such a Feast Day. The poem and the accompanying letter were written in willing haste to respond to Gregory's delight at Avitus' triumph. The introductory letter is formal and convoluted, but the final verse section in the poem, repeating the same ideas, seems affectionate, gently teasing Gregory for his precipitate enthusiasm, thus turning a dramatic story into a personal, family celebration. The strong personal ties of sympathy and understanding between Fortunatus and Gregory come through very clearly.

It is interesting to consider also the effect of the difference between Gregory's account and that of Fortunatus. Seen in a wider, historical context, Avitus' ultimatum to the Jews can be viewed as being to a considerable extent motivated by the need to get rid of a disruptive element in Clermont which supported Avitus' rival for the See (114). In the later echo of the event, Pseudo-Severus of Minorca certainly in retrospect interprets the event in this light. The fighting between Chilperic and Guntram through their commanders, Clovis and Mummolus, was being waged with savage destruction to life and property around Clermont at this time. Mummolus, for example, marched through the town and laid it waste after his victory against Chilperic's troops at just about the same time as Avitus' conversion

of the Jews (115). The city had been decimated by the plague two years running at the time of Bishop Cautinus' death, only five years previously. A city and its leader, so oppressed by events, might well feel that it could not afford any discordant and potentially disloyal citizens. Avitus and others may well have felt that, on their previous record, the Jews' interests were not unquestionably theirs or the city's, and the danger of conspiracy or subversion should be averted if possible.

The reason given by both Gregory and Fortunatus for the conversion of the Jews is on the surface a purely religious one. The arguments propounded by Avitus, the terms of the conversion and its practical results are essentially religious. But at a time at which the bishop and the local count were the heads of a local community and at which the bishop, by reason of character or longevity, was the more permanent focus of local loyalties in political and ecclesiastical terms, the two aspects of the bishop's action cannot easily be separated. A group offering no religious allegiance to the ecclesiastical authorities may be suspect on political grounds also. For this reason Pseudo-Severus may offer a valid view in analysing a similar crisis in more political terms. Gregory, by contrast, both at the level of Avitus' evangelism and at the level of the mob's violence against the synagogue, portrays events in Clermont as being solely motivated by religious zeal. His accounts of the Jews' involvement in secular and ecclesiastical politics are kept quite separate (116). Fortunatus presents a more complex and, one might feel, a more realistic picture. Unity and disunity are both religious and civic:

plebs Averni etenim, bifido discissa tumultu,
 urbe manens una non erat una fide.

(lines 17-18)

(For the people of Clermont, split by divisive strife,
 though dwelling in one city were not of the one faith).

They are an impia turba - a turba being beyond the control of the authorities but impia implying religious dissent; they are domini iuga ferre recusans (line 21), a phrase bearing a possible double connotation of the two masters they should have recognised, Christ and the bishop. But the result of the split in religious loyalties is civic disturbance, rioting, destruction of property and nearly of life. The Jews are distinct from the Christians, because they recognise only Judaica iura (line 89), a phrase which has a civic as well as an ecclesiastical ring. The terms of the ultimatum are partly civic, partly religious:

redde, colone, locum, tua duc contagia tecum:
 aut ea sit sedes, si tenet una fides.

(lines 69-70)

(Give up your place, settler, and take your infection with
 you: or let this be your home, if the one faith holds you).

Colone is a purely ~~political~~ term, fides is a religious one. And the result of the conversion is given in civic terms:

exceptit populus populum, plebs altera plebem.

(line 115)

(A people welcomed a people, one populace another).

Fortunatus is completely at one with Gregory and Avitus in his enthusiasm for the conversion. Though the political and the ecclesiastical are virtually indistinguishable in these circumstances and it is perhaps imposing forced and anachronistic categories to try to distinguish them, Gregory's account is more simplistic and one-dimensional, a hagiographic approach which ignores other chains of causation. Fortunatus' account is vivid and dramatic, amplifying the religious reasoning but also adding the realistic dimension of civil tension and violence. He conflates Gregory's separate elements of civil and religious alienation to give what one might argue to be a more perceptive account of cause and effect. In an important sense the poet's account tells us more than the historian's.

Fortunatus can also be found fighting Gregory's own civic battles. Bishop Eufronius of Tours had persuaded Charibert to continue Lothar's exemption of the city of Tours from tax as a token of respect to St. Martin, an immunity also honoured by Sigibert. But in 589 Childebert II's tax collectors descended on the city, instigated, Gregory suggests, by some local enemy of himself or the church. In the event, representations were made to the king and the immunity was speedily re-affirmed (117). Fortunatus can be seen in Poem 10.11, Versus facti in mensa in villa sancti Martini ante discriptores, to be actively enrolled in Gregory's political battle against his opponents.

The poem was delivered at Easter (lines 7-10) when the discriptores were invited to share a meal at St. Martin's table with Gregory. This sharing of food from the saint's table had great symbolic force. For the Merovingians a shared meal was a powerful sign of the bond of friendship between all present. It was used to signal the establishment or re-establishment of friendly relations (118) and those with political or ecclesiastical differences would be careful not to sit down to a meal together (119). A shared meal, especially at Easter when a special feast was prepared (120), would offer Gregory an excellent opportunity to lobby for his cause.

The poem is a subtle piece of propaganda, reinforcing all the emotional and spiritual pressures already applied by the situation to the discriptores to recognise the special case of the people of St. Martin. The poet starts with a self-deprecatory topos, a sure sign that what he goes on to say is of particular weight or rhetorical force. The immunity of the city had originally been granted in recognition of the saint's great merit. This point and the fact that Tours was Martin's city is then driven home without any reference as such to the real subject of concern. Easter celebrates Christ's victory over death. Such was Martin's merit that he was able to raise a man from the dead (lines 15-16). Gregory is Martin's successor and his people are commended to the mercy of Childebert and Brunhild, through the agency of their discriptores who are seated at Martin's table (line 31). In this context this poem must have reinforced powerfully the pressure already put on the tax collectors by the situation Gregory had put them in.

The immunity of Tours from taxation must have been invaluable to

the economic life of the city and its surrounding countryside. It was the result of careful and continued pressure from earlier bishops. Fortunatus' value to Gregory in helping him maintain this hard-won privilege is clear both in this poem and in the poem he delivered to Childebert and Brunhild the previous year in Metz, when the poet accompanied Gregory there after the Treaty of Andelot (121). In this poem, 10.7 De natali sancti Martini pontificis Toronici, Fortunatus reminds the rulers that they owe all they have in material and in spiritual terms to the power and intercession of St. Martin. In the formal poems written for Radegund the poet is a prestigious and influential voice to plead her case, even with the emperor in Byzantium. For Gregory too, Fortunatus is deployed in political moves at a national level with the full weight of the rhetorical tradition behind him.

More locally, the bishop's work in ecclesiastical building and renovation is celebrated by the poet, as that of Leontius and Felix was at a slightly earlier date. The original cathedral of Tours had been badly damaged by fire in 568 and had remained in a ruined state until Gregory restored, extended and rededicated it in 590 (122). Poem 10.6 celebrates the work, giving detailed descriptions of St. Martin's miracles which were probably set by painted scenes on the cathedral walls. In the year of his installation as bishop, Gregory converted a room of the domus ecclesiae in Tours as an oratory, installing relics of saints and martyrs and also the pallium in which the fragment of the True Cross had been wrapped (123). The oratory is the subject of Poem 2.3. Fortunatus also wrote Poem 1.5, in cellulam S. Martini ubi

pauperem vestivit, as an inscription to be written on the walls of St. Martin's cell adjoining the cathedral of Tours. Gregory had done work on the cell and installed the relics of St. Cosmas and St. Damien there. The poem expounds the miracle of St. Martin which occurred on that spot (124).

From the other poems addressed to Gregory, it is apparent that Fortunatus is deeply involved in the concerns of Gregory and his circle of friends and family. There are several small occasional poems. A neat six lines offer him greetings for his natalicium, the anniversary of his consecration as bishop (Poem 5.4). Another poem welcomes him back from a journey (Poem 5.8). Both these are to Gregory the bishop and see him as a public figure. The welcome runs:

plaudimus instanter communia vota tenere,
civibus et patriae te revocasse deum.

(lines 7-8)

(We applaud *eagerly* the granting of the people's prayer,
that God has summoned you back to your citizens and
your homeland).

Other poems contain a salutatio and little else: Poems 5.12, 5.16, and 5.17, for example. Poem 8.14 gives thanks that he is well, Poems 8.16 and 17 just write to him for the sake of keeping in touch. The tone of these is affectionate, even humorous at times. Poem 8.17 begins:

si cessent homines velociter ire, per austros
ad te, care pater, carmina missa velim.

(lines 1-2)

(If men stopped travelling speedily, I would wish my
poems sent to you, dear father, by the south wind).

But, since he has a messenger to hand, Fortunatus decides to send Gregory a few lines in more conventional fashion. Poem 8.18 begins in high-flown style on a similar topic:

gurgitis in morem si lingua fluenta rigaret,
turbine torrentis vel raperetur aquis,
ad tua *praecipue praekonica summa, Gregori,*
dum non explerem flumine, gutta forem.

(lines 1-4)

(If the flow of words ran like a torrent, or was *caught*
up in the vortex of rushing water, if I did not fill the
entire stream, (my words) would be the merest drop for
your especial praise).

The relation with Gregory is then compared to that between Vergil and his patron. The literary purple passage underlines the message. Poem 5.13 thanks Gregory for a gift of apples and cuttings, ending with a neat transposition of the fruit into the apples of paradise which Gregory will merit.

There are several poems of recommendation, generally short. The typical pattern is six lines of praise of Gregory as shepherd of his people and two lines introducing the person who needs his charitable care at the moment. Poem 5.15, for example, de commendatione peregrini, has only two lines about the peregrinus and no detail about his circumstances. The same is the case in Poems 5.8, 5.8a and 5.10. These letters are purely unofficial, personal requests for help and inclusion in the spiritual community (125). They establish Gregory as the source of care and protection and then identify the needy person briefly. There is no argument about their merit: it is sufficient that the recommendation comes from Fortunatus, a comment on Gregory's trust in the poet.

Rather more elaborate is Poem 5.14, which is apparently occasioned by a chance meeting between a girl's parents and Fortunatus and their appeal to him in their distress at her conviction for theft (lines 7-8). The girl has been falsely accused of theft, condemned in the absence of witnesses (line 11) and was possibly 15 years of age (126). She has been sold into slavery at the instigation of her accuser (lines 10, 12). The father had witnesses but could not afford to produce them (line 14). Fortunatus appeals for Gregory's rescue of the girl. The actual case is put compactly and, as it presented,

is an obvious miscarriage of justice. The poet calls for Gregory's compassion not, as in the shorter commendations, by presenting him as full of pastoral care and charity and therefore only needing to have a person briefly brought to his notice. Here is presumably a potentially more complex case, a case for argued support,

not for simple charity and admission to Mass. Gregory would have to take up the case with the local comes, most probably his friend, Gallienus (127). Fortunatus gives weight to his pleas by putting them in the context of the work of Gregory's saintly predecessor. The poet meets the family by the tree which was the scene of a miracle of St. Martin and which still has miraculous powers (lines 1-6). The case is thus immediately marked as being special. When Fortunatus has learned what is wrong, he represents himself as thinking what Martin would have done, and then coming to Gregory as his successor. This applies neat pressure to Gregory from two directions: the bald facts of the injustice, and the appeal to the pastoral traditions of Tours and the obligations thus put on Gregory. Fortunatus is in a suppliant position. Gregory has the power and the responsibility. The poet has used Gregory's position as St. Martin's successor to plead the bishop's cause in the past. Here he turns the tables on Gregory. But he clearly feels able to put pressure on Gregory with confidence and involve him in what might be a troublesome case on behalf of people who are unknown and poor (128).

This request again reinforces the suggestion made in other poems that Fortunatus behaves almost as Gregory's peer, in that he can point out where Gregory's moral and spiritual responsibility lies, albeit tactfully, in confidence that Gregory will take his representations seriously. It is interesting also that Fortunatus himself goes to this trouble for such people, and that he would take time to listen to them and think what could be done to help. There may be other circumstances attaching to the case, but the appeal is made on those grounds and they cannot have appeared implausible to the bishop.

Gregory is seen in two aspects in the poems: the great bishop and the loved individual. In the first aspect Gregory is presented to his people in the panegyric as their shepherd who will care for them actively and effectively. He is very much involved in Avitus' ecclesiastical triumph. He is put forward as an exemplar in the city in church councils and in individual actions:

conciliis sacris sis norma et vita piorum
exemploque tuo crescat adeptus honor.

(Poem 5. 4.3-4)

(May you be the pattern in holy councils, and may the life and the glory of the just increase, amplified by your example).

The appeal for his help for the wrongly convicted girl is based on the idea that he is a bishop with pastoral priorities, directly in the tradition of St. Martin. Fortunatus frequently addresses Gregory as pastor. One of the poems, ad eum salutatoria, Poem 8.15, depicts him as a lighthouse, visible and protective of his people:

lumen ab Arvernīs veniens feliciter arvis,
qui inlustrans populos spargeris ore pharus,
Alpibus ex illis properans mons altior ipsis,
vir per plana sedens qui pia castra tegis.

(lines 3-6)

(Coming with blessing from the lands of Clermont,
a lighthouse, with your words you spread light throughout

your people, hastening from the Alps, a mountain
higher than the Alps themselves, you settle yourself on the
plains, guarding your devout hosts).

The diligent care and concern of Gregory for his people is apparent
throughout these poems (129).

At the same time Fortunatus speaks of Gregory in terms of love and
reverence for him as an individual:

amplectende mihi semper, sacer arce Gregori,
nec divulse animo, vir venerande, meo.

(Poem 5.8.3-4: cf. 5.5.101-104)

(Holy and eminent Gregory, always dear to me, you cannot
be taken from my heart, o venerated one).

His greeting in Poem 5.8a runs:

pagina si brevis est, non brevis est ardor amantis,
nam plus corda colunt quam mea verba canunt.

(lines 7-8)

(If this page is short, the devotion of him who loves
you is not so limited: for my heart feels more than my words
speak).

Fortunatus terms Gregory pater or parens frequently (130). This is not
only the general responsibility Gregory might have but something that
Fortunatus feels as a particular relationship. The poet is the sheep.

Gregory cares for :

.. pangens haec, tua, pastor, ovis.

(Poem 8.20.12)

(... in writing this as your sheep, shepherd).

Fortunatus is an exile when away from Gregory:

auxilium exili sis, rogo, pastor ovi.

(Poem 8.11.16)

(I beg that you should help me,
a shepherd helping his *needy* sheep).

He writes to Gregory specially to tell him that he has got back to Poitiers safely.

The poems on personal or literary matters bear out this impression.

The longest is the poem Item ad Gregorium episcopum, Poem 9.7.

The mention of Agnes, Radegund and Justina (Gregory's niece, who was a nun at the convent, lines 76-84) indicates that this poem was written from Poitiers. Gregory has sent the poet a handbook on metre (lines 33-36). The book contains not just excerpts from tragedy or the poets, but is a catalogue of metres with examples and a discussion of their use (lines 41-48). Meyer suggests that the book may have been a copy of Terentianus Maurus' work, De metris (131). This poem was presumably sent to Gregory at the same time as Poem 9.6, which acknowledges the receipt of the book and Gregory's request for a poem

in "Sapphic" metre (lines 9-10). This first poem is the covering note attached to the actual Sapphics and is in Fortunatus' usual couplets.

The hendecasyllables of the "Sapphic" metre are unique in Fortunatus' work. The poet complains that it is twenty years or so since he used them (lines 49-52: cf. 17-20). This is presumably a reference to his Italian training and might possibly suggest a date for the poem in the mid to late 570s. Fortunatus stresses the fact that using this metre is slow work for him (Poem 9.6.10) and difficult (Poem 9.7.25-32). The insistence on this point gives the impression that these protestations are more than conventional modesty topoi, and that he really feels that the subject matter of the book is abstruse (lines 41-56). This is perhaps merely a tactful reaction to Gregory's inexperience in such literary matters. but the heavy emphasis on the complexity of the task does suggest that Fortunatus was not as familiar with these metres as, for example, Ausonius or Sidonius had been.

The poem has little solid content and deals largely with the request itself. Stanzas 1 to 14 are about the request and the difficulty of the task, stanzas 15 to 16 are apologies for the delay in writing, and 17 onwards are about the dispatch of the libellus, with greetings from Agnes, Radegund and Justina.

The poet gives his models for this metre in stanza 3. Pindarus Graius is unlikely as a direct model, though Pindar is thought of by Fortunatus as the Greek model for Horace - Flaccus Pindaricus (132). The two poets are found in this conjunction earlier in Sidonius (133). Meus Flaccus is given here as Fortunatus' Roman source of lyric metre. Meus associates Fortunatus and Horace as Latin lyric poets and gives a

touch of pride and patriotism when the phrase is taken with the last, incomplete prose line of the enclosing letter, where the poet still speaks of himself as being in a foreign country:

... qui me in Gallis posito post tot annos ...

(... who, after I had been settled in Gaul for
so many years...).

Fortunatus would find examples of such *Sapphics* in Horace (134) but would perhaps be more familiar with their use in Ausonius and Sidonius. Ausonius uses the metre, calling it a Sapphic, in the first section of the *Ephemeris*; he used it also in Book 5, in numbers 7 and 8 of the *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*. Sidonius uses the sapphic hendecasyllable, terming it *Mytilenaei oppidi vernulas*, in speaking of his own career. He says of himself:

nunc per undenas equitare suetus
syllabas lusi celer atque metro
Sapphico creber, cecini, citato
rarus iambos.

(Ep. 9.16.37-40)

(Again, I have amused myself, a skilled rider, by cantering through the eleven syllables, and often have I sung in the Sapphic metre, but rarely in the swift iambic).

These verses are interesting in that they contain an image which is also found in Fortunatus' poem, though as usual there is no precise

verbal echo in Fortunatus' wording. Both poets introduce a ship voyaging and coming into harbour: in Sidonius' case the reference is to his career, in Fortunatus', to the project of writing in this style (135). The image is a common and an obvious one for both contexts but there may be an overlap of influence in the context of use in the same metre (136).

The motif of the dispatch of the libellus to Gregory with its messages (lines 65 ff.) is in a long tradition of authors so anthropomorphising their work (137). The difficulty of numbering the sands of Africa is a metaphor found, for example, in Catullus (138). The use of the metre itself has no particular traditional associations, apart from its character as a lyric metre. Sidonius, for example, uses it to account for his career, Ausonius to give a delicately dreamy awakening episode to his *Ephemeris*. Fortunatus says of it:

exigens nuper nova me movere
metra quae Sappho cecinit decenter,
sic Dionaeos memorans amores,
docta puella.

(lines 5-8).

(Requiring me recently to write afresh the metre in which Sappho sang so finely, that skilled girl, thus recalling Dione's loves).

Though the love he expresses is not Dionaeos amores, Fortunatus is here following the ascetic tradition in representing a more spiritual love in erotic terms (139). The poem is certainly a tribute of love to

Gregory, to his interest in literature and the mutual bonds of affection between the two men. The poem is a response to what must have been a rather special and esoteric acquisition, a book on metre. Fortunatus' implication that the metres were not really familiar to him is laboured so much that it becomes plausible, though the greater the difficulty the metre is presented as causing, the more of a tribute to Gregory the poem becomes. The use of the metre in Ausonius and Sidonius certainly seems more confident and fluent - though Fortunatus handles the metre with a light touch, even putting in the odd pun (lines 31-32). His writing is often more dense and compact than it is here. But the structure is clear, the poem is a good length and perhaps there is after all no subject matter other than this self-referring one.

As in the case of the panegyrics to Conda, Lupus and Leontius, the form in itself is a compliment: meus ... Flaccus has the touch of a Latin poet writing for a cultured patron, importing the thought world of the Augustan classics. Fortunatus is taking Gregory seriously in a literary way, the point made in passing elsewhere, in Poem 8.18:

munificumque patrem aequaret nec musa Maronis.

(line 5)

(Not even Maro's muse would be equal to my bountiful father).

But the poem is more than just a tribute from a poet to a patron. In its use of the literary overtones of the ascetics' use of erotic terminology and of the literary forms which conventionally convey messages of love, it is a tribute to Gregory of great personal

feeling. There is respect for him as usual as pastor. But there is also personal love: care Gregori (lines 4 and 88), ducor amore (line 32), amanti (line 63), nostrum ... amorem (line 67), largo refluens amore (line 87). These same tones are found in the greetings sent by Fortunatus from Agnes, Radegund and Justina.

The personal connection, the Augustan pattern of patronage, also lies behind Poem 8.19, pro villa praestita. The villa is on the banks of the Vienne (line 4), where the poet can watch the busy traffic of the river (lines 5-6). Fortunatus thanks Gregory for his generosity in making what he has available to his flock. It is impossible to know when this gift was made, or how permanent it was. But he also thanks Gregory for a gift of land without making any indication whether or not this is in connection with the villa (Poem 8.20). The thanks compare Gregory's generosity in providing for the needy with that of Martin: again, as in the commendation of the convicted girl, Fortunatus stresses the presence of Martin as Gregory's predecessor and the measure of his actions (140).

A smaller gift is that of leather for shoes (Poem 8.21). The poem begins in an appropriately high style in praise of Gregory's eloquence (lines 1-4). The words Sophocleo ... sopho in line 3, like the Vergilian phrase Sophocleus cothurnos (141), evoke the noble tragic style. After that grand start, Fortunatus modestly commends himself as pusillus and thanks Gregory for the gift. The poem is a genuine tribute to thoughtfulness and kindness. The poet wishes that Gregory may be given the white garments of the blessed in Paradise in return for his care for the least of beings (lines 13-14).

The beginning of the poem is hardly serious. Fortunatus' praise elsewhere of Gregory's literary gifts is more muted (142). Here one pagina is written up in full tragic style. The poem is an affectionate, gently humorous note of thanks for a small but thoughtful gift. But it is an effective way of not appearing to be making too much of a minor occasion, when the writer wants to express sincere thanks for the virtues which lie behind a gift or action. The poem is serious and self-deflating at the same time. The present, like that of the apples, shows care and affection from Gregory to Fortunatus, and the poet is generous in his acknowledgement. Two lines in this poem -

dulcis care decens facunde benigne Gregori
atque pater patriae, hinc sacer, inde cate

(lines 5-6)

(kind, dear, good, eloquent, generous Gregory, father of
his people, both kind and wise) -

sum up how Gregory is seen through Fortunatus' verse, the two aspects of his character. He is compassionate and loving, and also a great bishop in the tradition of St. Martin.

There are several other poems about invitations. Poem 8.11, pro infirmitate sua, is in reply to an invitation from Gregory to come to the feast day celebrations for St. Martin and describes the sorry state Gregory's letter found him in. The mock dramatic account of the heat of the fever (lines 5-12) highlights all the more the bishop's

part in his recovery - medici vox alma Gregori (line 1) and the poet's dependence on the bishop in all matters (lines 2 and 15-16).

Another similar poem, Poem 5.9, offers a well-turned excuse for being unable to come to Tours because of a prior engagement, and includes good wishes from Agnes and Radegund. The latter connection is also apparent in Poem 5.11, de itinere suo, about his journey back to Poitiers. The strong ties between Fortunatus, Radegund, Agnes and Gregory have already been discussed (143). Poem 8.12, pro causa abbatissae, shows Fortunatus' later continued involvement with the affairs of the convent after Radegund's death. The abbess at that time was Leubovera and the terrible situation to which Fortunatus refers was the mutiny of Clothild and her fellow nuns (144). Gregory obviously felt strongly about this situation, a feeling echoed here in Fortunatus' condemnation of Clothild's action. The poem is backed by a prose letter (Poem 8.12a), asking similarly for Gregory's indefatigable action on behalf of the stability of the community, in the name of Radegund.

Close ties with Gregory's family and with the convent can be seen in the mention of Justina, Gregory's niece. Justina was the daughter of Gregory's sister and Justinus (145). At the time of the trouble with Clothild, she was prioress and acted bravely to protect Leubovera at considerable risk to herself (146). She is commended to Gregory in the Sapphic verses of Poem 9.7.81; and in Poem 8.13 the poet thanks Gregory for arranging for her to see her grandmother, Armentaria, again. Armentaria herself is the recipient of a short encomium written to her as matrem domni Gregori episcopi (Poem 10.15). She is praised for the greatness of the son she bore, far excelling by the single

child the mother of the Maccabees with her seven sons.

In all these poems, therefore, Fortunatus is closely identified with Gregory himself, with his family and with his friends. At the beginning of Gregory's reign as Bishop of Tours, Fortunatus is there as ecclesiastical poet laureate to offer a panegyric on the occasion. The eulogy on the conversion of the Jews a few years later and the circumstances in which that poem was written show the light in which Gregory continued to regard the poet. Gregory's own reaction to Avitus' triumph is not enough. He must persuade Fortunatus without delay to celebrate this ecclesiastical coup, the literary accolade to complete the triumph. The poet writes also for Gregory's family: the epitaph for Gallus, the encomium to Armentaria and the reference to Justina. In addition, Fortunatus' poems to Gregory are a constant bridge between the convent at Poitiers and Tours, both before and after the death of Radegund.

The poet has the greatest respect for Gregory the bishop, seeing him, as Gregory no doubt saw himself, as a successor aspiring to the qualities of St. Martin. In the panegyric and in the eulogy on the conversion of the Jews, Fortunatus shows a perceptive reaction to the events of the day. Comparison with Gregory's own account of Avitus' success shows Fortunatus' accuracy in recording events. At the same time, by means of dramatic emphasis and telling detail, he gives a more complex and subtle account than Gregory's, one which is perhaps more informative to us.

The informality and affection in many of the poems, as well as the mention of gifts to Fortunatus, shows the degree of friendship between

the two men. Gregory values Fortunatus not only as a poet, but as a literary mentor. The Sapphics and the tactful comments on Gregory's own verse probably indicate that Fortunatus set a standard of poetic skill which Gregory could only admire. In spite of the picture of Gregory in the panegyric as a man who is happy to forget his Gallo-Roman ancestry and give ecclesiastical values a priority, the gifts to the poet and the comments on Gregory as patron reflect a hankering for the classic Augustan ways and a wish to continue these traditions. Gregory is admired and loved as bishop and as a friend by Fortunatus. It would seem that this admiration and affection are returned by Gregory to Fortunatus as an individual and as a poet. As Gregory puts into practice the ecclesiastical leadership based on all that the poet valued, so for Gregory, in literature Fortunatus embodied the archetypal Latin poet.

4. Conclusion

From this analysis of the three groups of poems and letters emerge pictures of three very different characters. All three bishops are Gallo-Romans, of old and aristocratic families. But all have a distinctive style of rule as bishop, and different relationships with Fortunatus.

Leontius, very conscious of his aristocratic status, is the great administrator, seeking autonomy within his province, extending the power of the church by creating a network of country shrines and

oratories, and stoutly resisting any attempt to diminish his authority. The emphasis in the praise of Leontius and Placidina is on their families, their glory and visible greatness. The churches they have built are numerous and lavishly furnished: the villas overcome the threat of the wilderness and re-establish Roman values. Comparison with other poems shows an image which lacks an emphasis on personal pastoral care of the people or of spiritual concerns. The bishop's interest in Fortunatus is primarily in his Romanitas. It is the final accolade to his achievements that they should be hymned by a Latin poet. But the poems are formal, without any feeling that there was any personal attachment or regard between poet and patron, or any mutual interest in literature as such, or in spiritual matters.

Felix similarly is conscious of his Romanitas: he also is a builder and civil engineer: the completion of his cathedral is a noteworthy achievement in itself but is also used with panache to consolidate the ecclesiastical morale and unity in the kingdom. He is a shield of defence for his people in a very practical sense. The impression given is that he is a formidable character, but far closer to Fortunatus than Leontius was. There is an element of teasing humour in the poems to him. In literature, the poet acts at least as his peer, clearly valued for his technique and skill and not just for his face value as a Latin poet. The great Easter hymn also suggests a depth of spiritual feeling not present in the colder and more superficial poems to Leontius. With both these bishops there is the sense that the Roman past they value is indeed past: there has been a break in the continuity of values and they must be restored as a conscious effort

of will.

With Gregory, the poet has the closest, most varied and personal relationship. Fortunatus shows great admiration for a fine bishop. The image of Gregory presented in the panegyric, the qualities Fortunatus praises him for generally, are those of a bishop with a deep pastoral care for his people. This can be seen in the smaller poems, in the appeal on behalf of the wronged girl, in the recommendations, and in the support Gregory is asked to offer throughout to the convent in difficult circumstances. Gregory has, at the same time, the greatest admiration for Fortunatus as a poet, an admiration reflected both in the tone and content of the poems and in the gifts of a villa and land. The relationship is depicted on the model of the Augustan one between poet and patron, the ascetic tradition of loving friendship present often in the way Fortunatus addresses Gregory. They share strong literary interests, Fortunatus acting as literary mentor to Gregory, and throughout the personal poems there is a tone of affection and humour.

These three groups of poems, therefore, present case studies of great value in revealing three quite distinct and different characters, and the different aspects of their relationship with the poet. With Leontius, Fortunatus uses the more formal genres and motifs to their full effect. He is for Leontius one of the most valuable appurtenances of a princely episcopal court and writes as such. The closer identity of feeling and interest in spiritual and literary matters with Felix and with Gregory draws from the poet not only more

personal, humorous and affectionate poems, but a more subtle literary response in terms of technique, of allusion and reference. Again the poet's readiness and ability to respond sensitively to individuals is shown, his skill in adapting and developing genre, motif and tradition. But it is not a matter of writing well for a patron who commissions many poems. Fortunatus clearly responds with markedly different writing for a patron whom he admires or who shares his values and interests.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POEMS TO NOBLES

In the two preceding chapters, we have looked at poems written to women and bishops, identifying a widely varying range of style, tone and literary complexity in the use and development of traditional genres and motifs. In cases where there is a group of poems to the same person, Fortunatus' writing to that person is sufficiently distinctive and different from his writing for other people to suggest that there is a high degree of correlation between the style and content of a poem and the character and interests of the recipient. This in turn suggests that Fortunatus is a flexible and sensitive writer, well able to adapt a traditional genre or motif to a particular person or context. Furthermore, the differences between substantial groups of poems - those, for example, to Leontius and those to Gregory - suggest that Fortunatus' reaction as a poet depends, not merely on the generosity of a patron towards him, but on their relationship and mutual interests. Fortunatus is not just a bread-and-butter occasional poet, who writes most or best for the patron who is best in the sense of using his services frequently. Leontius is a good patron in that sense. But the poems to Felix and

especially to Gregory, Radegund and Agnes, show the further range of writing which mutual interests or a more affectionate relationship can inspire.

These points can be further and finally illustrated by looking at poems written to some of the nobles in Merovingian society.

Fortunatus wrote for a family group: Duke Bodegesil, his wife, Palatina, and Bodegesil's father, Mummolen (Poems 7.5, 6, and 14). He also addressed poems to Duke Lupus of Champagne (Poems 7.7, 8 and 9), to Gogo (Poems 7.1, 2, 3, and 4) and to two Provençal noblemen, Dynamius and Iovinus (Poems 6.9 and 10; 7.11 and 12).

1. Poems to Mummolen and his family

Fortunatus addresses Poem 7.5 to Duke Bodegesil, who is Massiliae ductor and rector (lines 19-20). His wife, Palatina, is the daughter of Bishop Gallomagnus (title to Poem 7.6 and line 22 ff.). There was a Bishop Gallomagnus of Troyes present at the Council of Paris in 573 and that of Macon in 581, but he was apparently succeeded by Agricius by 585 (1). This bishop may be Palatina's father but the connection is not certain (2). Gregory mentions two Bodegesils: the first, whom he entitles Duke, died in old age in 586 (3), the second met a violent death in 590-591, murdered in the course of a mission to Emperor Maurice Tiberius on behalf of Childebert II, in the company

of Grippo and Evantius, son of Dynamius of Marseilles (4). Both were connected with the court of Childebert II and may thus have had contact with Fortunatus. Though Gregory does not call the second Bodegesil a duke, it is more likely that it is he who is Fortunatus' patron. The connection with Marseilles, mentioned in the poem (lines 19 and 20) and in Gregory's account, suggests this conclusion. Fortunatus' Bodegesil is rector Massiliae but known and loved in Germania (presumably the court at Metz) (lines 21-24) and apparently despatched from Metz to Marseilles (lines 23-24). This seems to fit well with what little Gregory says about the latter Bodegesil, but probably refers to an earlier stage in Bodegesil's work in Marseilles.

In that case, Bodegesil was the son of Mummolen of Soissons (5) and half-brother of Duke Bobo (6), if, of course, Mummolen is the same man in both cases. In all likelihood, then, the Mummolen addressed in Poem 7.14 is Bodegesil's father and Poems 7.5, 6 and 14 form a group addressed to members of the same family (7).

In this group of poems, the encomium addressed to Bodegesil (Poem 7.5) is lavish and clichéd. The distance between the poet and the Duke is suggested by the absence of any mention of personal interests. Line 14 -

horae qui spatio me facis esse tuum?

(... you who make me yours in the space of an hour?) -

might even suggest to the cynical that this was the only occasion on

which Fortunatus in fact had any lengthy conversation with the duke. The poem is typically deferential with two modesty topoi within the forty-two lines, one at the start of the poem (lines 1-2) and the second before the catalogue of Bodegesil's virtues (lines 15-18).

The poem begins with a lengthy eulogy of Bodegesil's charm and eloquence, using the imagery common throughout Fortunatus' poems of the comparable satisfactions of food and words (8). After the second modesty topos (lines 15-18), Fortunatus lists Bodegesil's merits, his praiseworthy public action in Marseilles and Germania (lines 19-24), his justice (lines 25-28), his eloquence (lines 31-36) which is employed in the defence of the oppressed, and his generous hospitality and charity to the needy. The light imagery of lines 29-30 has more of the overtones of light associated with Christ, with Christian salvation and life eternal than with any panegyric connotations (9). The poem ends with wishes for his health and continued popular esteem.

The compliments are paid on a grandiose scale. Bodegesil is depicted as the centre of attention in Marseilles and Germany; his administration of justice succours the oppressed, Nilus ut Aegyptum (line 34). These are public qualities, remote from any intimate personal characteristics or any particular occasion other than a brief meeting. Fortunatus' poem of thanks and praise to Duke Lupus (10), in contrast, stems from a particular occasion, in the context of a longer and closer relationship, for which Fortunatus is thanking Lupus. The poems to Felix of Nantes and Gregory, as we have seen, are coloured by a common and genuine interest in literature, and probably by a friendship and spiritual understanding which enables Fortunatus

to address them as individuals. The terms of this poem do not suggest that there was anything more than a formal, public and probably superficial contact between the two men. There is no sign of any interest in one in the other's character or personal enthusiasms.

Palatina, to whom 7.6 is addressed, is not known except as her husband's wife and her father's daughter. The poem lavishes fulsome and conventional praise on her, directed mainly to her beauty. Stock comparisons are made to the Daystar, to the beauty of the flowers, with a modest denial of his ability to cope with such a subject (lines 1-14) (11). Palatina is praised for her modest bearing, for gentle speech, and for being a good housewife. She is a credit to her husband and father. Fortunatus makes the point that Bodegesil was a good catch as a husband: Bodegesil eligit e multis (line 27) (he chose from many). Possibly the marriage is still a recent event and the circumstances are memorable, or they were so much a matter of pride that they are worth comment even at this stage. Whatever the case, the feeling that she has married well is plainly reflected in what Fortunatus says in her praise. Furthermore, since this was a marriage between a Gallo-Roman and a Frankish noble, it may be possible to see in Fortunatus' praise here a tactful encomium of this situation, giving credit to both families. Good wishes to the couple end the poem.

The encomium is pretty and pleasing, but addressed to a public image. As in the poem to her husband, there is no engagement with an individual's character and interests. Poems to other women - to Radegund and Agnes notably, but also to Ultrogotha and others - show

that this level of superficiality is not to be attributed to any lack of appreciation of feminine attainments and interests or to any general tendency to see them merely as decorative appendages to their husbands. This poem, as the previous poem to her husband, reflects in its generalised praise a formal and superficial relationship between poet and patron, with no further bonds of mutual interest or attraction.

The poem to Bodegesil's father, Mummolen, presents an interesting contrast. This encomium (Poem 7.14) was written in thanks for a particular occasion on which Fortunatus had been given hospitality and lavishly entertained by Mummolen. The poem starts with a pastoral scene of lengthening shadows as the poet wends his weary way through the countryside. There are, as usual, no obvious echoes of classical nature writing, though viridantes gramine ripas in line 3 is perhaps similar to Vergil's ripaque ---- viridante (12). It may also be possible to detect in lines 3 and 4 an echo of the green pastures afforded for rest in Psalm 23, a reference also made in line 15 (13). This beginning immediately brings to mind Fortunatus' poem of gratitude to Duke Lupus (Poem 7.8) (14), where Fortunatus also starts with a vignette of a weary, harassed traveller. This poem, however, is shorter and far less elaborate than the address to Lupus. From the start the traveller is explicitly Fortunatus (dum mihi ... , line 1) and the situation is simply one of hospitality offered, not of the general support, friendship, and relief from loneliness given by Lupus to Fortunatus when he first arrived in the country. There is indeed the picture of the lush green pastures which Fortunatus sighted, where

he received sustenance (lines 3-6); but this picture quickly resolves itself as a metaphor for the hospitality of Mummolen's palace. This opening scene, moreover, is one of gentle weariness, with none of the fearful hostility of nature sketched in the poem to Lupus. The peace of this shadowed, melancholy scene as the poet directs his steps to a more hopeful track is broken abruptly by the name Mummolenus to explain this new and better direction.

Mummolen is then heralded in resonant phrases as high in honour in the palace and with his fellow citizens, as notable for his birth and personal merits (lines 7-14). In contrast to this eulogy, Fortunatus then launches abruptly into an extravagant description of the enormous meal he was given by Mummolen and his own greed in eating it:

lassavit dando (sed non ego lassor edendo)

(line 25)

(he wearied of giving (but I did not weary of eating)) -

and the spectacular effects this has afterwards on his digestive system. The Vergilian overtones started in the introductory section are maintained by the description of the apples in line 23:

... sunt mihi mitia poma

Persica ---

(I have sweet peaches),

which echoes Vergil's sunt nobis mitia poma in Eclogue 1.81. The pastoral turns abruptly into heroic verse with the mock epic account of his indigestion. Lines 31 and 32 -

non sic Aeolis turbatur harena procellis
 nec vaga^{per} pelagus puppis adacta tremit

(The sand was not thus whipped up by Aeolian storms,
 nor did the ship tremble thus, driven off course
 across the sea) -

surely refer to Vergil's account of the Trojan ships driven astray at
 sea:

maria omnia caelo
 miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
 in regnis hoc ausa tuis.

(Aen.5.790-792)

(To no purpose, relying on the Aeolian storms, did she
 mingle the whole sea with the sky, daring this in
 your domains).

The following two lines:

nec sic inflantur ventorum turbine folles,
 malleolis famulos quos faber ustus habet.

(Nor are the bellows thus inflated by the rushing winds, the
 bellows which the scorched smith uses to serve his hammers),

again contain an epic, mythological reference to Vulcan, or possibly
 to his son, Cacus (15). This grandiose, epic imagery, mocking in
 itself in the style Curtius terms "kitchen humour", is deflated

precisely by the diminutive malleolis in line 34 (16). The poem ends with good wishes for Mummolen and his wife, and with hopes for their grandchildren. The final line sums up the tone of the poem:

ut valeas dulces concelebrare iocos

(and may you continue to enjoy merry jokes).

There are thanks and compliments enough in the poem to Mummolen's power, prestige and generosity. But, in addition, by contrast with the distant and conventional address to his son and daughter-in-law, this poem was obviously designed for a man well-read enough and with a sense of humour to appreciate an evocative Vergilian setting for a formal eulogy, which promptly collapses into a bathetic mock-epic account of the after-effects of his hospitality. The poem changes pace and tone frequently and radically. The weary pastoral shadows of the first six lines become a crisp, packed and resonant public encomium, and change as rapidly into a grossly exaggerated account of the meal Fortunatus is served, followed by this mock-epic account of its results. These two last sections show the same kind of laboured humour that is found elsewhere in Fortunatus' writings and must have pleased him and his patrons.

The distinctive and confident tone of this poem shows clearly the extent to which Fortunatus was at ease with Mummolen. You cannot play jokes on a man whom you do not know, at least if you are a poet dependent on patronage. It is unlikely that you can play them successfully if you do not like him or have a lack of rapport with him. Mummolen emerges from this poem as a man who was indeed the

powerful public figure Fortunatus lauds, but one who also knew enough Vergil to pick up the references and overtones, and who had this particular broad sense of humour. There is perhaps not the detailed and complex appreciation of literature which is reflected in the poems to Gregory and to Felix of Nantes, and there is not the light, teasing humour found in some of those poems. Mummolen, however, is a robust, jovial and literate man, a very lively and three-dimensional character in comparison with his son and daughter-in-law.

2. Poems to Duke Lupus

Two poems to Duke Lupus of Champagne, Poems 7.7 and 8, have already been discussed. Poem 7.8, written to congratulate Lupus on his escape from some unspecified danger, offers insight into the relationship between poet and patron, into the way they view themselves, and into Fortunatus' adaptations and application of Christian and classical literary traditions (17). Fortunatus presents himself as a Latin poet, the embodiment of long literary traditions, in explicit contra-distinction to the Frankish bards with their songs. What he presents is a complex amalgam of biblical and classical literary traditions. Lupus is seen as a man who, though he serves at the Frankish court, yet values what is Roman and has sufficient literary experience to identify and appreciate allusion and evocation. The tone and convincing sentiment of the poem suggest bonds of mutual appreciation and interest between the two men, though not at the level of the friendship between Gregory and Fortunatus.

The panegyric to Lupus, Poem 7.7, compliments the duke by the very use of this prestigious Latin genre of public acclaim, though it does not have all the features to fulfill the practical purpose of the traditional genre and was probably intended only for private declamation to congratulate Lupus on an appointment (18). The lofty evocative tone, built up by the Roman context, the comparisons and rhetorical imagery, compliment Lupus on his Romanitas, and again, as Poem 7.8 does, depend for complete success upon Lupus' appreciation of the compliment he is being offered.

Poem 7.9, written to Lupus from Poitiers around 574 (19), is written in response to a kindly letter and gifts from the duke to the poet (lines 13-18). The poem witnesses to the friendship between the two men continuing from Fortunatus' arrival in Gaul, when Lupus offered the poet his protection and care, to this date, in the ninth year of Fortunatus' life in Gaul. The relationship is not merely a formal one. Fortunatus emphasises the fact that he is an exile (line 7), cut off from his family (lines 9-11). Lupus, in his kindness, has acted as a substitute for the poet's family (lines 11-12). From the first lines, the phrases add warmth to the sentiments: memorator amantis (line 1), carius absentis nimum miseratus amici (line 3). Lupus has sent a messenger with a letter and presents to Fortunatus (lines 15-18). This is a simple poem by comparison with the other two to Lupus, but touching in its thanks, not only for the gifts, but for the continuing kindness and concern which prompted them. The kindness is more formally acknowledged in Poem 7.8, where the form of thanks in addition pays tribute to Lupus' literary interests: here the tribute

is made by likening Lupus' support to his family's and implying a similar, reciprocal respect and affection from the poet to the duke.

Lupus, like Gregory and Mummolen, has literary tastes, and his patronage of Fortunatus extends beyond the mere use of a Latin poet for prestige, to an appreciation of the style and content of the poems. The image of the duke, mirrored in the poems written for him, shows a distinct individual, his relationship to the poet as friend and patron unique and different from the poet's other friendships. The poems to Lupus present, as in other cases, a consistent and clearly distinguishable approach to an individual, responding sensitively and in detail to a particular person, and a particular poet-patron relationship.

3. Poems to Gogo

Gogo, similarly, had literary interests and has already been noted as one of Fortunatus' patrons while he was with the court at Metz (20). Gogo was a highly-placed member of Sigibert's court, one of the king's councillors (21), and one of the envoys sent to escort Brunhild from Spain, (22). The description of Gogo's life at the court in Metz in Poem 7.4.25-26 suggests that he was mayor of the palace (23). After Sigibert's death, Gogo became a major figure in the politics of the regency. Brunhild appointed him as nutricius to the young Childebert II (24) and at some point he was brought into the chancellery (25). His importance is reflected in Gregory's story of the priest

Transobadus, who was confident that he would gain the See of Rodez from Childebert II, since he had placed his son in the household of Gogo, the king's nutricius (26). His death occurred in 581 (27).

Gogo was himself a poet, though none of his verse is extant (28). The surviving letters reveal him as well-educated and fluent in the florid prose style used by Fortunatus himself and by other writers of the period. He speaks of himself with conventional self-deprecation, as lacking the eloquentia Maroniana needed to do justice to his correspondent and his mentors, Dodoreus and the Gallo-Roman, Parthenius (29). In spite of his modest denial of literary skill, however, his writing shows evidence that he knew and was influenced by Vergil (30). Of his mentors, nothing is known of Dodoreus.

Parthenius, interestingly, is another connexion with Ravenna. He was a grandson of Bishop Ruricius of Limoges and of the Emperor Avitus and was educated in Ravenna, somewhat earlier than Fortunatus. He later maintained his literary interests, Arator sending him a copy of his De actibus apostolorum from Italy in 544. He served with distinction at the court of Theudebert I, as patricius and maior officiorum, but, as the king's tax-collector, met a violent death at the hands of a vengeful mob in Trier after Theudebert died in 548 (31). It is interesting that some twenty years after Parthenius' death, Gogo still in the letter to Traseric speaks with reverence of his influence, and defends hotly to Traseric the homebred virtues of Gallic writers, who need no foreign poets to show them the way, lauding Traseric himself as literary mentor for his countrymen (32).

Fortunatus addressed four poems to Gogo, Poems 7.1, 2, 3 and 4. From the reference in Poem 7.1 to the arrival of Brunhild in Gaul as a recent event (line 41), this poem can be dated to 566/7 (33). The poem starts with a picture of the magic of Orpheus' song, attracting the wild creatures to him. The first line:

Orpheus orditas moveret dum pollice chordas

(whilst Orpheus with his thumb began to pluck the strings)

is strongly reminiscent of Ovid's impulsas temptavit pollice chordas (he plucked and tried the strings with his thumb) (34). The image is then explained as a simile for the dulcedo of Gogo which draws all to him and comforts the exiled wanderer (lines 11-18). Gogo's eloquence is compared, in imagery common in Fortunatus, to honey, while his wisdom has a seasoning of wit (35). Images of light compliment Gogo on his splendour (lines 25-28, 31-32), as they did Avitus and Bodegesil, for example (36).

Fortunatus compliments Sigibert on his choice in showing favour to Gogo, and praises Gogo for his recent successful journey to Spain to fetch Brunhild. He comments explicitly on the powerful effect of Gogo's eloquent diplomacy, as opposed to any military prowess:

nemo armis potuit quod tua lingua dedit

(line 44)

(No-one could gain by force what your tongue has won),

a comment which harks back to the theme of the initial compliment, the

power of speech.

The qualities singled out are compliments not only to Gogo, but also to the features of Sigibert's reign which Fortunatus commends here and elsewhere, the peaceful and statesmanlike rule of diplomacy. This aspect of a king's reign is praised not only in Sigibert, but in other rulers, in the panegyrics, the epithalamium and in other poems, and is in harmony with Radegund's views and with a strong contemporary ecclesiastical view on the ideal qualities of a king (37). In this section, the emphasis is on the value of the role Gogo plays because of his civilised and cultural attainments, the qualities of peace. The king and he compliment each other, the analogy for their relationship being a literary one with classical and Christian references. Fortunatus suggests that:

elegit (sc. Sigibercthus) sapiens sapientem et amator
amantem,
ac veluti flores docta sequestrat apes.

(lines 37-38)

(The wise (king) has chosen a wise man, a friend choosing
a friend, just as the clever bee singles out the flowers).

This imagery echoes that of the first section of the poem in its reference to the honey of eloquence. There is a further connection between bees and Orpheus which can be suggested to Gogo with his knowledge of Vergil. In Georgic 4 Vergil tells the story of Orpheus (lines 453 ff.). But earlier in that poem Vergil also sings the praises of the docta apes (lines 219 ff.) This is an image which

Fortunatus uses elsewhere , in Poems 8.3 and 4.11. Here there is the obvious Vergilian reference to the classical image of the wise bee, who is linked to the Muses and thought to possess reason (38). In Christian literature also, the bee is the discriminating selector of wisdom and virtue (39). Fortunatus' image in Poem 8.3.83-84 depicts Caesarius and Caesaria extracting all of value from the ascetic tradition to transmit to Rade Gund. In Poem 4.11.9-10 he suggests similar distillation from the monastic tradition. Here, in Poem 7.1, the compliment has a double reference: to Sigibert as the docta apes, to Gogo as the object of such special discrimination. The image binds the thought of the poem by internal reference and at the same time evokes a classical and Christian symbolism, especially significant to Gogo because of its Vergilian connotations.

The emphasis on the peaceful and civilised nature of Gogo's public life and attainments follows smoothly from the elaborate section, rich in imagery, which begins the poem. The first thirty-four lines celebrate not only Gogo's literary ability, his eloquence and peaceable qualities, they hymn the worth of these qualities themselves. The image of Orpheus makes both these points. Song is beautiful and moving and its effect is to soothe away all feelings of fear and hostility, making even natural enemies unite in peace. The eloquence is that of Roman culture. Orpheus is the classical exemplar: Gogo follows or wishes to follow in that tradition, a compliment which is perhaps reasonably supported by the surviving letters. The imagery of light and brilliance at the end of this section, the powerful imagery of templum pietatis and domus, reinforce the thoughts of the magical effects of eloquence, winning relief from dark oppression and

establishing all the signs of peace and stability.

Fortunatus congratulates Gogo particularly on his recent diplomatic success in Spain (lines 41-44). This compliment is reinforced by the Orphic imagery of the poem, stressing the achievements of speech. But one minor motif is also that of people arriving from afar. As the metaphor of Orpheus is applied to Gogo, the poet interprets it thus:

sic stimulante tua captus dulcedine, Gogo,
 longa peregrinus regna viator adit.
 undique festini veniant ut promptius omnes,
 sic tua lingua trahit sicut et ille lyra.
 ipse fatigatus huc postquam venerit exul,
 antea quo doluit te medicante caret.

(lines 11-16)

(Thus enchanted by your reviving charm, Gogo, the foreign traveller approaches through the length of the kingdom. Thus, as Orpheus attracted by his lyre, so your ~~long~~ ^{power} ~~draws men that~~ they all hasten here swiftly from all sides. After the weary exile arrives here, through your comfort, he is free from distress).

This is more than a random development of the analogy. It is unlikely that Fortunatus is speaking obliquely of himself alone here. He refers to himself as viator and exul in speaking to Lupus (40). In this poem he speaks personally only at the end in lines 47 to 48, but praise of Gogo's care for the exile in general need not be taken as excluding him. There is, however, none of the personal warmth that there is in

the poems to Lupus . In this poem he is speaking more generally, especially in line 13: ... undique ... omnes. Later in the poem he again refers to those who have come here from a great distance:

nuper ab Hispanis per multa pericula terris
egregio regi gaudia summa vehis.

(lines 41-42)

(Recently, from the land of Spain, at great hazard, you
brought to the noble king his greatest joy).

The tragic catastrophe of the journey in the reverse direction by Sigibert's niece, Rigunth, in the next generation (41) shows the extent to which such success was the result of diplomacy and good organisation. On Brunhild's arrival she was welcomed joyfully and Sigibert assembled the leading men of his kingdom at a banquet (42), an occasion which must have held out prospects of unity and peaceful stability for a kingdom continually seething with feuds and intrigue. It is perhaps not too fanciful to see in the poem a reference to that occasion. Gogo's achievements as Sigibert's envoy have brought together Brunhild from Spain and leaders from distant parts of the kingdom, men who had perhaps never met before, in an atmosphere of harmony and peace. A comparison with Orpheus' magical gifts is certainly not inappropriate.

The compliment is indirectly to Sigibert for the nature and quality of his rule. Directly Gogo is praised for the qualities which achieve peace and stability, the chief of which are his eloquence and wisdom. The source of these qualities is Gogo's appreciation of Roman values,

his learning in the Roman literary traditions in prose and verse.

Poem 7.2 compliments Gogo further on his Romanitas, both in his eloquence and in his hospitality. Gogo is likened to Cicero and Apicius, in the familiar imagery of the comparable pleasures and satisfactions of words and food (43). Fortunatus here, according to the title, refuses an invitation to a meal. The excuse - that he is feeling sleepy (lines 9-10) - seems feeble. The preceding four lines recall, in their account of the effects of a sequence of courses, the mock-heroic account to Mummolen of his indigestion (Poem 7.14) (44). Other poems, written to be declaimed at a meal, similarly list courses or comment on the entertainment (Poems 11.22 and 11.23a). One in particular, Poem 11.23, apologises for the poet feeling sleepy during a meal and so falling short of what might be expected of the ideal guest. The titles to the poems appear to have been added later and to be inaccurate in some cases (45). Poem 7.2 seems to be a case in point. The poem compliments Gogo on the qualities of the conversation and the food, suggesting that they are in true Roman style, but gracefully declines the invitation to eat more. The poem is also a conventionally self-deprecatory comment on itself, being itself the verse he offers for the company's entertainment.

Poem 7.3 is a brief conciliatory note about a difference of opinion. Both this and Poem 7.2 suggest that Fortunatus is commonly in Gogo's company at this period, dining with him, being close enough both to quarrel and to apologise without much self-abasement.

The form of the fourth poem to Gogo, Poem 7.4, is one familiar from earlier writers. Both Sidonius and Ausonius, for example, speculate on what absent friends are doing and where they might be. Ausonius envisages Theon at various ploys on his estate at Medoc (46) and wistfully imagines the various stages of Paulinus' journey back from Spain (47). Sidonius likewise sketches the various leisurely pastimes Aper may be indulging in (48) and the more ascetic and devout occupations of Bishop Faustus (49).

In this poem to Gogo, Fortunatus asks the clouds driven by the north (or, more strictly, the north-one-third-east) wind to bring him news of Gogo's welfare. Although the news is expected from the Lorraine/Alsace area or further north and east, it is difficult to deduce where Fortunatus might have been at the time of writing. Further south on the Rhine would be conceivable, though a vivid poetic imagination would perhaps not make either Aquitaine or Paris too distant.

However that may be, Fortunatus then imagines Gogo engaged in various possible peaceful pursuits:

dicite qua vegitet carus mihi Gogo salute,
quid placidis rebus mente serenus agit:

(lines 3-4)

(Tell me what well-being enlivens my dear Gogo, what
peaceful pastime he is pursuing, in cheerful tranquillity).

The geographical extent of his speculation ranges from the Aisne to the Meuse, to the Moselle, the Saar and the Rhine, with a catalogue

of other unidentifiable rivers as well (50). Gogo might be in Metz or anywhere in the Ardennes or the Vosges. He might be hunting or fishing by the banks of these rivers, he might be visiting his estates or carrying out his duties at the court at Metz (51). Or he might be assisting Lupus in works of charity and justice (52). Wherever he is, the winds are to take Fortunatus' greetings.

Gogo's lifestyle is depicted as that of the civilised, Romanised great man. His country pursuits are more energetic than those of Pliny perhaps, but he has his own country estate, his huntin', shootin' and fishin', in addition to the more serious and urban public duties. The description of his interests echoes both Sidonius and Ausonius. Ausonius writes to Theon (53), imagining him going boar hunting and warning him of the horrid dangers. In more detail Sidonius describes the daily routine of Theoderic to Agrippa (54): the description of this hunt fills out Fortunatus' allusion to these pursuits. Ausonius himself has great feeling for his native land and his own estate, an interest which Fortunatus attributes to Gogo also (lines 23-24).

Fortunatus' description of these country pursuits lacks the full, eye-witness detail of the accounts of Sidonius and Ausonius, though all three are writing about a comparable way of life in the same country. The point of Fortunatus' description is that Gogo leads a Roman way of life such as this; no further detail is required, or the balance of the poem would be upset. The formula of musing on a friend's possible occupation is here a vehicle for a tribute to the great power and responsibilities of Gogo. The widely-cast geographical references suggest the size of the kingdom and, by implication, the distinction of Gogo's pre-eminence, as well as his personal power in

having so many estates to which he might retreat. At the same time, the scope of his duties - the organisation of court life, the administration of justice and charitable works - is a tribute to his position. This is no random concatenation of hobbies. Every detail is included to point more sharply to the distinction of Fortunatus' patron. The structure of the poem itself offers a compliment by attributing a Roman life-style to Gogo, with allusions and images which echo and flatter Gogo's training in classical literature. What the poem essentially conveys is how powerful Gogo is. This is a deft and diplomatic encomium, all the more so since many of its compliments are conveyed by nuance and allusion.

Gogo emerges from these four poems as a man whose virtues are those of diplomacy and peaceful direction of policy. A powerful politician, he is at the same time a cultured and well-read man, a writer and poet himself with a strong pride in Gallic literary traditions, but willing to offer patronage to a young poet from the schools which educated his old master, Parthenius. Fortunatus' poems to him take full advantage of his learning, complimenting him with a depth of allusion and reference to Christian and classical writers. Poems 7.2 and 3 suggest that the relationship is not confined to the single hour interview of Duke Bodegesil. Fortunatus is a guest at Gogo's table and can dispute with him without fear. Their literary interests are strong common ground, but there is no evidence of a lengthy or close relationship, such as that with Lupus or Gregory.

4. Poems to Dynamius and Iovinus

The two nobles whose patronage of Fortunatus will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, Dynamius and Iovinus, were both members of a Provençal literary circle (55). This area, centred on Marseilles, had only been taken over from the Ostrogoths in 537. During Fortunatus' time, Marseilles was first attached to the kingdom of Sigibert, then passed into the jurisdiction of Guntram and by 584 was entirely controlled by Childebert II (56). Provence was an area administered in a unique fashion by the Franks. The structure of earlier Gallo-Roman organisation was still sufficiently stable to induce the Franks to maintain the existing administration, dispensing with a local comes and appointing instead a rector provinciae, whose duties included the activities elsewhere carried out by comites, but who had the status and military role of a dux as well. The territory thus had an unusual degree of autonomy (57).

Fortunatus met Dynamius and Iovinus when he first came to Metz (58). Through Dynamius Fortunatus sent greetings to several Provençal friends - to Iovinus, Bishop Theodore of Marseilles, Sapaudus, Albinus and Helias (59). It might be asked when Fortunatus had met this circle, to whom he sends such friendly greetings. His route to Metz did not take him near Marseilles, but we may reasonably suppose that a substantial contingent of Provençal nobles was present at Sigibert's wedding celebrations, to which the king had invited the seniores of his realm (60). Of this group, only Dynamius and Iovinus are directly addressed by Fortunatus.

The poems to Dynamius, Poems 6.9 and 10, appear to have been written soon after Fortunatus' arrival in Metz. It seems likely that Fortunatus was in Metz from the spring of 566 to mid-567 (61). Poem 6.9 speaks of the passage of a year since the two men last saw one another, Dynamius having returned to Marseilles, whilst Fortunatus remained in Germania (Poem 6.9.13-16). Poem 6.10 is written in the heat of the dog days (lines 5-6) and speaks of the poet as being longius absens from his patron (line 53). There is no more precise indication of the date of writing. In 581 or shortly afterwards the group of friends mentioned in Poem 6.10 was divided by political rivalry, Dynamius and Albinus being bitterly opposed by Iovinus over the appointment to the See of Uzès, vacant on the death of Ferreolus (62), and Dynamius plotting to expel Theodore from the See of Marseilles (63). Nothing is known about the other two friends. Sapaudus was in all probability the eminent Bishop of Arles (64) but we know nothing else of the history of his involvement with this group. Similarly, Helias is not known from any other source. Iovinus was rector provinciae for a time till he was deposed by Sigibert in 573, great enmity arising between him and Albinus because of the latter's succession to this post (65). In view of the later alliance between Dynamius and Albinus, already mentioned (66), we may conjecture that the tension between Dynamius and Iovinus may also have arisen in 573. It is therefore likely that Poem 6.10 was also an early poem written some time between 567 and 573, whilst the two men were still friends. This dating would offer time enough for Fortunatus to refer to himself as longius absens from Dynamius.

Dynamius was later rector provinciae himself, when Childebert II

had jurisdiction over the area (67). Though Fortunatus speaks of his power in laudatory terms (68), there is no reason to suppose he held that office for an earlier period as well. In the late 570s and early 580s he was heavily involved in the political intrigue caused by the dual control of Marseilles by Guntram and Childebert II (69), but there is no evidence that there was any contact between him and Fortunatus at this later period. He appears to have died in about 595 and the epitaph for himself and his wife survives.

Dynamius was a well-educated man, recognised as such. Pelagius II sent books to him from the rich stocks of the Lateran library (70). One verse of his poetry survives (71), together with two letters written in the intricate, convoluted style familiar from the letters of Gogo and Fortunatus himself (72). Letter 12 is of interest in that it uses the image of the parched traveller seeking respite to illustrate his thirst for his correspondent's letter. This image is very similar to that used at the beginning of Fortunatus' poem to Lupus, Poem 7.8, though the point of the analogy is not the same in both cases. If the date suggested for Dynamius' letter is accepted, the poem to Lupus was written earlier and Dynamius may have borrowed the image from Fortunatus (73). Dynamius also composed a Vita S. Maximi on the life of St. Maximus of Riez, dedicated to the bishop's successor, Urbicus (74). His second wife, Eucheria, was also a poet and there is a poem surviving which may be attributed to her (75).

The first and shorter poem to Dynamius, Poem 6.9, reproaches him for having failed to keep in contact with Fortunatus. The poem is brief and direct. At least a year has passed since Dynamius left Metz

for Marseilles (lines 13-14) and the poet, hoping for another meeting or at least correspondence, has been disappointed of both.

So the poem is a literary reproach for Dynamius' negligence. Using a classical motif, reminiscent of Vergil and others, Fortunatus asks the winds for news of Dynamius (76). Tua pars in line 7 echoes Horace's phrase, te meae ... partem animae, addressed to Maecenas, and animae dimidium meae, spoken to Vergil (77). Not only are these Augustan echoes, but the originals referred to a patron or a friend who were themselves poets. The compliment to Dynamius is twofold. Moreover, this expression for a close personal tie was used by the early Christian writers in a context of mourning for the pain of breaking such a tie (78) and may have here for Fortunatus and Dynamius the added overtone of a motif commonly associated with grief for a more permanent separation, thus strengthening the poet's protestations of sufferings at this absence from his patron.

Fortunatus then suggests that dreams will remind Dynamius of him:

nam solet unianimes ipsa videre quies.

(line 10)

(for repose itself is wont to see kindred spirits).

Like Galswinth and Goiswinth in the consolation to Galswinth (Poem 6.5), Fortunatus and Dynamius are here cast in the classical role of separated lovers, haunted by the image of those they love (79). The word unanimis (reading unanimis, and not any variant of unianimes, which is not found elsewhere) is used of brothers in Claudian, an author well known to Fortunatus (80). In the form unanimis the epithet

raises Vergilian echoes of close kinship, by birth and by sympathy (81). The classical associations again set Dynamius and the poet in a context of close friendship and understanding. Even the note of passing time has its Vergilian overtones, the sun's panting horses being reminiscent of similar Vergilian steeds (82).

The tone to Dynamius is both personal and slightly imperious. Expecto te are the first two words. Expecto conveys impatience. But Fortunatus rarely uses the first person singular at the start of a couplet, still less often at the beginning of a poem. Where he does begin a poem in this way, the recipient is invariably someone with whom he is on familiar and relaxed terms, the largest number of examples being in poems to Radegund and Agnes (83). This friendly overtone takes any edge of rebuke away from expecto, as does the continuation ... noster amor, venerande Dynami ..., the depiction of them as twin souls and the final use of carius and amice in lines 19 and 20.

The request for contact is put from an equal to an equal, a literary equality created by their common interest and, probably, personal liking, as in the poems to Gogo, Felix, Lupus and, above all, to Gregory, Radegund and Agnes. It is impossible to guess what degree of personal affection lies behind the poems precisely because they use the language of love and affection to some extent as the tie of affection which links the men in their appreciation of literature, and of poetry in particular. Dynamius' own writing - prose letters, hagiography, poetry - closely parallels Fortunatus' in the areas of interest in genre. We have already seen a distinct difference between more formal poems, where the recipient appears to have no working

interest in poetic technique (for example, Bodegesil or Leontius), and those where there is this mutual bond (for example, Felix, Gogo, and others). This poem certainly reveals a relaxed approach to a powerful patron, affectionate and demanding, confident in spite of the tinge of respect in venerande Dynami (line 1). Again, it also displays the poet's sensitive ear and finely detailed technical ability in pitching the tone of a request or comment and, with the art which conceals itself, in creating a poem which, in spite of its brevity, has several levels of reference.

Poem 6.10 is a longer address to Dynamius, written in the reverse circumstances. Fortunatus is writing to explain why he has not written sooner in spite of a promise to do so (voti in line 2, cf. line 32). His excuse is that he had a fever in the heat of the dog days, was bled for it, and then was too weak to write (lines 5-10). The present poem, however, has partly been prompted by Fortunatus' receipt of some verses written by Dynamius:

legi etiam missos alieno nomine versus,
 quo quasi per speculum reddit imago virum.
 fonte Camenali quadrato spargeris orbi,
 ad loca quae nescis duceris oris aquis.

(lines 57-60)

(For I have read the verses sent in another's name, in which the reflection rendered the man as if in a mirror. You are sprinkled by the Muses' fountain to the four corners of the world, you are taken by the streams from your lips to places

you know not of).

It is clear that Fortunatus believes that the verses in question are by Dynamius (see also line 62), but that they have been circulated under another name - alieno nomine. This phrase recalls the title to Poem 8.1, ex suo nomine, which refers to the poet speaking in his own voice. Exactly what the situation was is difficult to establish. But, coming after protestations of affection, this comment, slipped in at the end of the poem, seems to be a reproach to Dynamius that he had not sent a copy of the verses openly and directly to Fortunatus, but had allowed him to come upon them (possibly) by chance and only infer for himself their authorship. Dynamius is betraying their literary friendship, if he is circulating verses in Gaul without consulting and informing Fortunatus.

The poem begins with a dramatic apostrophe to Time, which has prevented the poet from fulfilling his promise and writing verses for Dynamius. The message is set in the context of classical lyric poetry:

per lyricos modulos et fila loquacia plectris,
qua citharis Erato dulce relidit ebur

(lines 3-4)

(by lyric measures and strings, eloquent under the plectrum
where Erato strikes the sweet ivory of the lyre).

He goes on to explain why he has not been able to fulfill his promise in terms which emphasise the friendship between the two men, by underlining their common knowledge and appreciation of classical

poetry.

The initial bare tempora are transformed into sultry and enervating classical Dog Days, which one suspects are here a literary as much as a meteorological phenomenon. As usual, the verbal echoes are not precise. But in lines 5 and 6 -

ecce vaporiferum sitiens canis exerit astrum

et per hiulcatus fervor anhelat agros

(behold the thirsty Dog thrusts out its vaporous star and the heat pants over the gaping fields) -

there is the atmosphere of Vergil's

ubi hiulca siti findit Canis aestifer arva.

(Georg. 2.353)

(where the sultry Dog star cleaves the fields, which gape with thirst) (84).

This desperate time of year - exerit and anhelat stress the drama - has caused Fortunatus to have himself bled to cure the fever and thus he was unable to compose poetry at an earlier date. There is an element of useful ambiguity underlying the motif of Time here. The first line -

tempora, praecipiti vos invidistis amori

(Time, you cast an evil eye upon swift love) -

encourages the reader to expect a conventional lover's complaint against Time, especially when the Muse of love poetry is then introduced (85). However, Time turns out to be the season of the year which, at a banal level, is the cause of Fortunatus' silence. But the collection of ideas and images in the first four lines make even the prosaic contribute to the poem's concentration on lyric and love poetry in the classical tradition.

Fortunatus then balances in rather contrived antithesis the cure for his physical fever against the cure for the fever of love (lines 11 ff.). Line 18, counterbalancing the flow of blood with that of inspiration, is symptomatic:

carne fluit sanies, ne riget ore latex.
 (~~Dis~~ensed blood flows from my body, that the flow (of eloquence)
 does not stream from my lips) (86).

His consequent weakness and inability to write are described in dramatic and overwritten terms:

musicus ignis abest, algent in fonte sorores
 (line 19)

(the fire of song is absent, the sisters in their spring
 are chill),

and so on. Line 27 halts this purple passage by as near a direct quotation of Vergil as Fortunatus ever makes:

ast ego posthabeo affectu mea seria vestro

(But I put ~~your~~ friendship before my troubles/work).

This refers to Vergil's

posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo

(Ecl. 7.17)

(But I put their sport above my work).

Playing a Vergilian role, Fortunatus here stresses that in spite of this desperate state of affairs and the parlous condition of his Muse, as he has said already,

nunc mihi prima tui cura, secunda mei

(line 16)

(Now my first concern is for you, only then for myself).

The poet then eulogises Dynamius directly, praising him for his many and peaceable virtues, and for his care for the poet when he first arrived in Metz, when Dynamius himself was far from his native Arles (lines 33-47) (87). In a greatly reduced version of the analogy used of Lupus' patronage of him, Fortunatus plays with the literal and metaphorical meanings of cold and warmth, speaking of the warmth he felt meeting Dynamius in those chilly latitudes (lines 39-41).

Dynamius' care, like that of Lupus (88), is that of a father, the simile of Telamon and Ajax giving the point a classical dimension (lines 43-44).

When he has created this atmosphere of warmth and care, in the focal section of this passage, Fortunatus states his relationship to Dynamius in phrases which explicitly evoke the classical poets and their patrons. He calls himself Dynamius' cliens in line 47. Pars mea in that line and animae pars mediata meae in line 48 again, as did tua pars in the previous poem (Poem 6.9.7), echo Horace's words to Vergil and to Maecenas, suggesting thus not only a classical exemplar for this relationship, but one between a poet and a friend and patron who is also a poet. There may also be here the same overtones of the association of this phrase with bereavement, which emphasises Fortunatus' feeling of loss for his patron.

As in the previous poem, Fortunatus addresses Dynamius in warmly affectionate terms (89). Then, in imagery, partly of the "passionate friendship" ascetic tradition (90), and partly recalling the lyrics of their exemplar, Horace, Fortunatus longs to see and embrace Dynamius, but is still bound by love to him even in his absence (lines 49-56).

After stressing his love for Dynamius, Fortunatus goes on to compliment him on the verses missos alieno nomine which he has read (line 57 ff.). The stark legi perhaps suggests a slight tone of pique, that they had just chanced to come into Fortunatus' hands and the poet is here hinting that Dynamius really should have sent them to him, openly acknowledging his authorship, for comment and approval, maintaining the fraternal bond between fellow poets.

The image of a heart as an agellus in line 63 seems to be biblical, in that it is an extension of the metaphorical use of ager as "fertile ground, ready to receive the seed of ideas". But the metaphor of ploughing a field to indicate the act of writing is a long-standing

classical one. So there is probably also a reference in this phrase to the creative mind of the writer (91). The implication of the compliment is that Dynamius' work as a poet is so distinctive and inspiring (lines 58, 61) that Fortunatus, a willing audience, may learn from him.

The poem ends with wishes for Dynamius' health and wellbeing and with greetings to other members of the Provençal circle. The final couplet makes certain that the lyric emphasis is not lost:

haec tibi nostra chelys modulatur simplice cantu;

sed tonet archetypo barbitus inde sopho.

(This lyre of mine plays a simple song to you: but in those verses (lit. there) *may the lyre resound* from the archetypal genius).

The compliment on Dynamius' skill as the greater lyric poet rounds off the elaborate compliment.

There is no indication of the poem's chronological relation to Poem 6.9. If the position suggests a later date of writing, we can suppose that Dynamius responded to Poem 6.9, this poem being part of subsequent correspondence. There is, however, no suggestion that the contact survived more than a year or two of separation, since the two men never appear to have met again.

The poem, written nominally in fulfillment of a promise, seems to be an attempt to strengthen or resurrect the bond that existed previously, now that Dynamius is back in Provence and presumably distracted with other concerns. The exaggerated and rather blowsy

references to his own Muse in the earlier section of the apology (lines 17-26) prepare the ground for the suggestion that Dynamius' Muse is rather more sophisticated and fertile than Fortunatus' own. In its allusions, its atmosphere, as well as in what is said directly, this poem compliments Dynamius as being not only a perceptive and wise patron, a dear friend, but also a considerable (and superior) poet in his own right. Fortunatus plays heavily on their common interest in poetry, flattering Dynamius by the implicit comparison of him as a poet with the Augustans and with Maecenas as a patron. The poem operates at various levels: the direct message, the evocation and the almost direct quotation of the literary context in which the poet flatteringly places Dynamius. The compliment to Dynamius on his poetic genius at the end is prepared for carefully by the deprecation of Fortunatus' own talents, not by a conventional modesty topos, but by presenting his own Muse in a crudely over-written and hence bathetic light.

This is perhaps overdone, and the poem is too obsequious for our taste. But the tone is invariably well controlled, switching smoothly from the self-deprecating parody of lines 17 to 26 to the sincere tones of the eulogy to Dynamius (lines 33 ff.) by the pivot of the virtual quotation from Vergil in line 27. This tone adds further sincerity to the final tribute to Dynamius the poet (lines 57 ff.), which is thrown into greater contrast with Fortunatus' own over-written Muse. Perhaps, of all Fortunatus' correspondents, Dynamius was the nearest, or thought he was the nearest, to matching Fortunatus' own ability. With Felix and Gregory, the poet tactfully avoids being patronising. He does not adopt the pose of a literary

mentor here, which perhaps suggests the more formidable confrontation with standards and interests of a sophisticated and classically educated patron. The literary circle in Provence could possibly set more demanding standards than could the Merovingian courts.

The two poems reflect the value Fortunatus gave to the friendship he had formed with this powerful and well-educated patron at the court in Metz. A warmth of affection enables the poet to regret their separation in personal terms and to make demands or reproaches with tact but confidence. Their relationship was based on the fact that both wrote verse, both could draw upon the same literary background. The literary games played within a poem are consequently far more complex than those played in the comparatively simple one-dimensional poems to Leontius who only uses Fortunatus as a token Latin poet, or to Gregory and Felix, who do not seem to have felt themselves to be on such equal literary terms with the poet, and who can thus be addressed with a degree of literary complexity but from the relatively simple stance of a literary mentor.

Iovinus, addressed in the title to Poem 7.11 as illustris ac patricius et rector provinciae, was removed from that office by Sigibert in 573 (92). Childebert II later appointed him to the See of Uzès in 581, though the appointment was challenged by the bishops of the province in collaboration with Dynamius (93). Dynamius also harried Iovinus for his association with Bishop Theodore of Marseilles (94). We know little of Iovinus' background, nothing of his family (95). Iovinus, Dynamius and Theodore, with others, are seen as a harmonious group of

literary-minded friends in Poem 6.10, whom the poet had probably met at Sigibert's wedding celebrations in Metz. The contact with Dynamius had lasted for a year or so after the noble returned to Provence. The title of this poem, assuming its accuracy (96), would suggest a similarly early date, between 568 and 573. Poem 7.12, like Poem 7.11, asks for news of Iovinus. The more intense note of plaint for absence suggests that the numbered sequence reflects the chronological sequence. But there is no evidence that the relationship with Iovinus lasted any longer than that with Dynamius, that is, a year or two.

Fortunatus plainly had serious problems in his correspondence with the Provençal literary circle. Poem 7.11 is another poem complaining, yet again, that he has had no word from Provence - in this case, from Iovinus. The poem addresses Iovinus directly with no touch of formality and no preamble. It is similar in tone to the first poem to Dynamius, Poem 6.9: direct, informal, and speaking to Iovinus as to an equal. The opening line, like the first words in the poem to Dynamius - expecto te - addresses a friend who can be reproved with a tinge of impatience:

prosaico quotiens direxi scripta relatu!

(How many times have I addressed prose letters to you!).

The affectionate informality is evident in the message that Fortunatus misses Iovinus and news from him, and in the way in which this message is given. Iovinus is addressed as amicus and carus (line 11). The suggestion also of what should befall Iovinus if Fortunatus did not care so much for him -

si me cura minor vestri tenuisset amoris,
iam fuerat licitum stringere colla manu

(lines 5-6)

(if I had set less value on your love, you could have gone
hang / I could have strangled you) -

has the teasing tone of mock threats between good friends. As in the poem to Dynamius, the motif of poetic diction and allusion indicates a common literary bond between the two men, a bond between people who both appreciate and themselves write poetry. The imagery of the waters of inspiration from the Castalian springs in the first four lines establishes this link. Both this and the short poem to Dynamius are relaxed, informal and consciously literary in tone. This tone is literary, not in any ponderous or even serious way, but almost in the sense of giving poetic passwords to establish or confirm a friendship based on such interests.

The second poem to Iovinus, Poem 7.12, is a very different matter. The burden of the poem is that they had met in the north (presumably in Metz - lines 65-66), parted, and Fortunatus now has no news to tell him exactly where Iovinus is or how he is (lines 65-70, 110). The poem begins with a sombre vision of the inexorable passage of time, dragging men without hope of resistance at a giddy speed towards the end of life. Phrases such as fugitivis fallimur horis and lubrica vita emphasise the feeling of life slipping from under our feet, like treacherous ground, as the chariot of time urges us relentlessly on -

cuncta movens secum momenta et pondera rerum,

(line 5)

(taking with it every moment, every solid object).

The picture echoes familiar motifs in poems to friends and patrons in Augustan verse: Vergil's

sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus

(Georg.3.284)

(but time meanwhile is flying, flying beyond recall);

Ovid's

fugiunt freno non remorante dies

(Fast. 6.772)

(the days fly, with no restraining curb);

Horace's

eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, labuntur anni

(alas, Postumus, Postumus, the flying years slip by).

The vivid phrase lubrica vita recalls Ovid's lubricus annus, the fleeting year (97). The image of the chariot of time is a general and familiar one, while the adjective volubilis (line 3) possibly evokes Horace's comments on procrastination and the passage of time:

... qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
 rusticus respectat dum defluat amnis: at ille
 labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

(Ep. 1.2.41-43)

(... who defers the moment of living rightly, is the
 peasant who watches for the stream to finish flowing past:
 the stream, however, flows and will flow on, rolling on
 until eternity).

The meta of life's course is a term found in both Vergil and Ovid, and commonly elsewhere (98).

Fortunatus then pursues this sombre line of thought by taking up motifs of mourning and consolation. Lines 7 and 8 observe that we are all destined for the same end, a thought which is a motif of consolation with a long history in both biblical and classical writers and used elsewhere by Fortunatus (99). This is followed by the idea that all alike are doomed, even the great and mighty, another familiar topos (100). The next, longer section (lines 11 to 32), dwells on the futility of human virtus, a traditional consolatory theme which Fortunatus uses elsewhere (101). The poet lists various virtues with exempla from classical literature and history. Bravery (lines 11-12) is exemplified by Hector, Achilles and Ajax, the phrase murus Achaeus intensifying the epic tone by invoking Ovid's description of Achilles as Graium murus (102). Wealth is seen in the person of Attalus, an exemplum perhaps familiar to Fortunatus from Horace's use of him as the personification of wealth (103). Ulysses is an example of cunning (lines 15-16); Astur - sequitur pulcherrimus Astur (104) - Hippolytus

and Adonis personify beauty, which perishes like all other qualities. Fleetness of foot, found in Romulus and Remus, is also transient (105), as is the song even of Orpheus. An impressive array of philosophers of various schools exemplifies the fact that wisdom avails nothing; and even the great poets have perished (106). The order of these virtues is significant. Even poetry, supreme as a monumentum aere perennius (107), can offer no protection against death.

The exempla are all derived from the stock sources of classical literature and are all pagan, though the Christian tradition would offer Fortunatus alternative Christian exempla to make his points (108). The thought and imagery of the poem so far derives almost entirely from the classical tradition of mourning for death and for the transitory nature of life. The link between Fortunatus and Iovinus is their interest in classical literature and the poem is naturally couched in that language. But the choice of pagan exempla of the inevitability and finality of death may have a further point and may prepare the way for the next section.

From line 33 Fortunatus abruptly moves on to speak of the sole hope of salvation, which lies in being acceptable to the triune God:

perpetuo trino posse placere deo

(line 34)

(to be able to please the eternal and triune God).

This quality, interestingly identified as placere and not as credere, is what will win eternal life and glory beyond death. Fortunatus goes on to speak of the tombs of what Brown calls "the

Very Special Dead", the great saints and holy men (109). As Gregory says:

cuius quae sit mercis in caelo, ad eius ostenditur tumulum;
eumque inhabitare paradiso, prodit virtus egrediens de
sepulchro.

(Gl Conf. 52)

(what sort of a reward he has in heaven is shown at his
grave: the power coming out of his tomb declares him to be
living in paradise),

an example of this heavenly quality for Gregory being the tomb of St. Martin (110). The rewards, the glory of the life after death of such men, is manifest for Fortunatus, as for Gregory and others at this time, in the attributes of the tombs themselves, in the vivid scents and odours associated with such places and with their miraculous healing properties, both cancelling out the destructive finality of death. Fortunatus continues in this poem to paint a rather Art Nouveau picture of the luxuriant hazes of scent, redolent of the perfumes of Paradise (lines 37-42). This association of odour and sanctity is found elsewhere in Fortunatus and continues a long Christian tradition (111). Such are the tombs of "the Very Special Dead", which have these extraordinary qualities and also have the power to heal and revive, Fortunatus says (lines 45-46). Those who have lived a life of holiness become citizens of heaven, a phrase resonant with Augustinian echoes (lines 49-50). There are many of these. But for the rest,

de reliquo nihil est quodcumque videtur in orbe,
nam tumor hic totus fumus et umbra sumus.

(lines 59-60)

(Of the rest, whatever is seen on earth is nothing: for
this bustle of ours is nothing but smoke and shadow).

This is a statement of profound pessimism. It does not identify Iovinus and the poet with those who will have lives of any such meaning beyond death. Sumus in line 60 makes this quite clear. Fortunatus would not deny that Iovinus and himself believed in God, but mere belief is not enough. There are shadows here of the Augustinian theory of predestination, signalled by the civis ... poli in line 50. It is necessary to be pleasing to God (placere in line 34) - a condition which is perhaps less a matter of human choice than is belief - to be one of "the Very Special Dead". Gregory was oppressed by the minute proportion of tombs belonging to these select few. As Peter Brown suggests, a chill breath blows through Gregory's works, as he contemplates the vast anonymity of cemeteries. The silence of the Polyandrion, the "Place of the Great Majority" outside Autun, is broken only by a few echoes of chanted psalms, betraying the presence, among thousands, of a few tombs of faithful souls worthy of God. "The all too solid shame of the grave had been transmuted by very few" (112). The paradox of a life after death which can spill over even into this life with luxuriant scents and healing properties is the preserve of the predestinate few. For the rest there is nothing of such substance to hope for. Fortunatus has earlier identified Iovinus and himself with the classical poets, who presumably have even less

hope than the average Merovingian Christian of eternal life. The wording of line 60 strengthens this suggestion. Inhumation was the custom (113) and fumus here has literary, rather than literal, significance, and evokes Vergil's line about the doomed shade of Eurydice which vanished like smoke (114), identifying Iovinus and the poet with the hapless pagans even more.

The thought here is certainly bleak and pessimistic. Life goes quickly, no noble quality lasts beyond the grave, and only the special qualities which please God have any assured and substantial existence after death. This category would not seem to include poets, especially pagan poets. There are many such saints, Fortunatus says, but we are not among them. This thought sets a tone of urgency on what follows: a plea for what comfort can be found in this life -

cur igitur metu trahitur data vita susurro,
nec Fortunato pauca, Iovine, refers?

(lines 61-62)

(Why, therefore, is life dragged out in fear, given over to
whispers: why do you not give Fortunatus a few words,
Iovinus?)

Metu in particular sharpens the tone of the appeal here with a note of desperation (115).

In lines 65 to 70 the poet says that he was confident that the friendship between Iovinus and himself would last; but instead

tempora longantur sed breviatur amor.

(line 70)

(Time stretches on but love shrinks).

Absence has not lessened his feeling for Iovinus, rather the reverse. The expression here is clichéd but effective in its simple and direct language and in the contrast with the more rhetorical and elaborate sections earlier.

In lines 85 onwards, Fortunatus repeats his appeal:

hinc tuus ergo cliens ego, care colende, requiro

(so here I, your cliens, dear and respected friend, ask ...).

The line balances the emphasis of obligation on Iovinus to respond to a cliens with the reminder of a more personal tie, an aspect which is developed in the next lines (lines 87-106).

A concentration of motifs intensifies the meaning of this passage. The idea that friends are absent in body, not in mind (lines 86-92) was used also, though in briefer form, in the plaint to Dynamius (Poem 6.9.4-8). Here it is put in more realistic detail, the embrace of friends when they are really together described vividly. This scene, with its elusive and dreamlike fantasies -

alternis vicibus modo vadis et inde recurris:

vix fugis ex oculis, ecce figura redis:

et cum terga dabis, facies mihi cernitur insons:

si pede conversus, fronte regressus ades. (lines 95-98)

(Alternately you now go on and then return: scarcely have you disappeared from sight, than behold your form comes again; when you turn your back your innocent face is visible before me; if you turn on your heel, *you return and your face is before me*)—

uses the classical motifs to describe the distress of an abandoned lover. Fortunatus is haunted by Iovinus' image, as, for example, Dido is beset by the image of the absent Aeneas (116). In the poem to Dynamius, Fortunatus hints at this in his description of haunting dreams of an absent friend (Poem 6.9.9-10), but the idea is developed here with more impact. This section, with its overtones of the ascetic language of "passionate friendship" (117), coming after the chilling warning of life's short span, adds a note of intensity to the plea for some sort of response from Iovinus (lines 105 ff.). The words timidis ... chartis in line 105 underline the picture of the poet pleading humbly for the slightest reaction.

The theme of irrevocable time recurs in line 108:

tempora non revocat lux levis atque fugax

(swift fleeting day does not call back the hours),

recalling the first line:

tempora lapsa volant, fugitivis fallimur horis

(time slips by, we are mocked by the fleeing hours).

The idea Fortunatus used in speaking to Dynamius of the poet as a fallow field, needing the inspiration of his friend to give him creative life, is developed more fully here. In Poem 6.10, the idea is referred to briefly:

interiora mei penetrans possessor agelli

(line 63)

(reaching my inmost depths, owner of my heart) (118).

Here the image of a field is detailed: quasi ruris agrum in line 112 introduces the metaphor, which, in lines 113 to 116, is drawn out in detail. In failing to write to Fortunatus, Iovinus is condemning him to poetic sterility.

The poem ends with Iovinus' words likened, in familiar fashion, to honey (119), and with greetings to his father Aspasius and his brother Leo. But even this conventional ending has a shadow. Fortunatus adds in the last line longa stante die (whilst the day lingers long), driving home again with what are virtually his last words the warning of the passage of time.

This poem is very different in tone from Poem 7.11, which is light, teasing and uses classical poetic allusion almost as a code, signalling their mutual bond of literary interests. This poem starts like a dirge and uses many of the traditional motifs of consolation. Time hastens all things to their end, no quality survives the grave - not even poetry. The refrain of the passing of time comes again in line 31. Our one hope is the Christian hope of eternal life which lies in the many examples of saintly lives, and yet is not for us. There is

no hope in the world to come and we can only look for comfort in this world; but even what comfort there could be - that of dear friends - is absent. The refrain reappears in line 63 with tempora lapsa vides - the pain of absence, the tantalising fantasies of seeing Iovinus, his dreamlike hope, the poems he has sent with no reply, are all recounted - and again in lines 107 to 108 where Fortunatus' plight without contact with his friend is described as being like the sterile field, without life or growth. The poem ends with a final reminder of the ever passing hours.

Many of the motifs and ideas here are traditional to the genre of consolation, to the description of absent lovers and friends. Several of the ideas are present in more embryonic form in the poem to Dynamius. Yet this is a far bleaker, more powerful, more painful poem than that to Dynamius. Though the plea for contact there is forcibly put, it lacks the whole dimension of personal desolation with the threatening undercurrent of time passing and death drawing ever nearer. The consolation of eternal life does not tip the emotional balance. In fact it intensifies the fear by offering a tantalising glimpse of the lives of the saints, as distinct from what life is actually offering Fortunatus and Iovinus. This is a striking contrast to what Fortunatus actually says to the bereaved in many of his epitaphs and consolations, where he speaks very positively of the certainty of eternal life and the irrelevance of grief. There the consolation and optimism are linked to lives of conspicuous merit. Here, where he speaks of himself, he falters.

Faced with the emotional strength of this appeal, with Fortunatus' use of the language of "passionate friendship" in the ascetic

tradition, we may ask the unanswerable question: how sincere was he? Does this poem reflect the poet or the person? The poem is more complex and evocative than those to Dynamius. But does the careful intensification of fear and threat, the increasingly desperate plea for an answer, refer to a real friendship, one which Fortunatus needed as a person? Or is this the poet speaking, using the motifs with which his patron was familiar, to stress in sophisticated and elaborate fashion how much that patronage meant to him? The letter of complaint from Ausonius to Paulinus on this same topic, similarly laden with conventional topics and mythological references, Epistle 29, would pose the same question. We would be equally unable to answer it, if we did not have Paulinus' reply and know something more of the two men and their circumstances. In Fortunatus' case, any answer can only be speculative. But it can be said that Fortunatus has been shown to respond with a degree of subtlety and delicate nuance to the particular relationship with a friend or patron. In Appendix 29 and 30, and in Poem 11.26, fears and desolation about separation from Radegund and Agnes are vividly expressed. We can only suggest that here, too, there may be a personal friendship. At the least, there is a relationship of poet and patron which is more important to Fortunatus than that with many other friends and patrons and more important than that with Dynamius.

5. Conclusion

As in the other groups of poems discussed, there is here a great range

and variety both in the intents of these poems and in the literary techniques used to achieve these aims. There is also a great variety in the relationship between poet and patron, the nature of the relationship correlating strongly with the style of writing.

Bodegesil and his wife have only a formal relationship with Fortunatus and are addressed with banal, conventional compliments. Mummolen emerges as a jovial and educated acquaintance. The poems to Lupus represent a continuing friendship, derived from Lupus' original support for Fortunatus and drawing substance from what appears to be a common literary interest. Fortunatus' verse to the duke is allusive and evocative, complimenting him by the manner of expressing a sentiment as much as by the sentiment itself. With Gogo, Fortunatus is relaxed and confident, finding again a mutual bond in classical learning, and using that learning to demonstrate his patron's cultural sophistication as well as his political power.

Dynamius and Iovinus, who appear to lose touch with Fortunatus a year or two after they return to Provence, have that same interest in classical learning, perhaps to a more learned extent than any Merovingian noble. Dynamius is the only patron to whom Fortunatus clearly avoids playing the role of literary mentor. The literary game played in the poems to him, and especially in Poem 6.10, are more complex, in that Fortunatus appears not to take that relatively simple stance. The poems to Iovinus are equally complex in their literary techniques, drawing on a wealth of classical and Christian motifs and references. They too have an unusual dimension, in that Poem 7.12 has a degree of emotional intensity, which suggests a different and a deeper friendship than that with Dynamius.

Each of these poems, or groups of poems, delineates by tone and technique clearly differentiated characters. What Fortunatus writes to them reflects their interests and the nature of their friendship or patronage of the poet. Fortunatus, as before, draws on the reserves of many facets of Christian and classical writing to respond with verse which ranges from the formally banal to the intricate allusions and complex messages of a close literary and personal friendship.

CONCLUSION

Fortunatus was a Gelegenheitsdichter in that he wrote for specific people on specific occasions. But his work was far from being a bland *poésie d'ameublement*. A poem by Fortunatus was a significant, positive and often active contribution to the situation which inspired it.

Deeply influenced by the work of both Christian and classical poets before him, he developed and adapted the traditions he knew for the society he lived in. But he did not apply traditional genres and motifs in a rigid, uncreative way. Where necessary, he innovated, following the spirit rather than the law of a genre, as can be seen, for example, in his use of panegyric to acclaim the princely Merovingian bishops. His interaction with his patrons and his friends, too, shows skill and imagination. He responded to an individual's interests and tastes so sensitively that we are often able to form a picture of that person from the group of poems to them. In his relationship with his closest friends, in that he was allied to them by bonds of Christian devotion and of admiration for the Latin literary tradition, the usual poet-patron relationship was often reversed. Fortunatus himself became the literary patron of bishops and nobles, a living exemplar of the Latin poets they so admired and strove to imitate in their own writing.

As a public figure, delivering a panegyric or a consolation, he displayed throughout his work a consistent stance towards larger issues of politics and morals, firmly based in contemporary ecclesiastical thought. Though the poem De Coco displays traces of early uncertainty and lack of personal recognition, the ideas on kingship and the relation of the secular to the ecclesiastical establishment which appear in the early panegyrics are well-developed even at this early stage and remain constant throughout his working life. In an unconventional but effective way, he acted as a mini-chancellery for Radegund, in laying the diplomatic groundwork for her national and international work on behalf of the convent and the country. But he also used the traditional role of a court panegyrist and eulogist to comment on public events, intervening in a critical and positive fashion which combined an astute grasp of political realities with Christian ideals.

Fortunatus' poetic skill lay in applying and developing literary traditions to meet the needs of cultural change and transition in Merovingian Gaul. There were those in Merovingian Gaul who had a serious interest in literature and even some who wrote themselves. For the former the poet continued in their generation the Latin literary tradition they revered, for the latter he was also a practical exemplar. In political and social terms a poem from him set the Roman seal of approval on a ceremony or an achievement. For the Franks it was a token of their legitimate succession to Roman rule in Gaul, for the Gallo-Romans it was a reassurance of their cultural inheritance and identity.

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- 1 S.Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London 1926) p.333.
- 2 Koebner, p.2.
- 3 M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900 (London 1957) p.98.
- 4 E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.23.
- 5 J. Szövényfy, Weltliche Dichtungen des Lateinischen Mittelalters, vol.1 (Berlin 1970) p.225.
- 6 T. Mommsen, "Schlussbericht über die Herausgabe der Auctores antiquissimi" (1898) (Gesammelte Schriften 7, Berlin 1909) pp. 691-694.
- 7 B. Brennan, Bishop and Community in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Melbourne University 1983.
- 8 R. Aigrain, "Un Latin en Germanie" (Bulletin de la Société d'Antiquaires de l'Ouest 1, 1916) pp.19-31; Sainte Radegonde vers 520-587 (3rd ed. Paris 1924).
- 9 J. Fontaine, "Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat" (Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France 62, 1976) pp.113-140.
- 10 M.L. Caron, "Le Poète Fortunat et son temps" (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences et des Lettres et des Arts d'Amiens 3, 1883) pp.225-303; M.C. Nisard, Venance Fortunat. Poésies traduites en français pour la première fois (Paris 1887); Le Poète Fortunat (Paris 1890).
- 11 W. Meyer, Der Gelegensheitchdichter Fortunatus (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil-hist Klasse, N.F. vol.4.5, Berlin 1901).
- 12 D. Tardi, Fortunat. Étude sur un dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne (Paris 1927).
- 13 B. J. Rogers, The Poems of Venantius Fortunatus: a Translation and Commentary, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers University 1969; K. Steinmann, Die Gelesuintha - Elegie des Venantius Fortunatus (Carm.6.5). Text, Übersetzung, Interpretationen (Zurich 1975).
- 14 M. Manitius, "Zu spätlateinischen Dichtern" (Zeitschrift für Gymnasien Österreichischen 1886) pp.250-251; Poetarum Priorum

Notes on the Preface

- Loci Expressi a Fortunato and Poetarum Posteriorum Loci Expressi ad Fortunatum (MGH AA vol.4) pp.132-144; E. Clerici, "Note sulla lingua di Venanzio Fortunato" (Rediconti d'Instituto Lombardo Accademia di scienze e lettere: Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche 104, 1970) pp.219-251; G. Davis, "Ad sidera notus: Strategies of lament and consolation in Fortunatus' De Geleswintha" (Agon 1, 1967) pp.118-134; L. Navarra, "A proposito del De navigio suo di Venanzio Fortunato in rapporto alla Mosella di Ausonio e agli Itinerari di Ennodio" (Studi Storico-Religiosi 3, part 1, 1979) pp.79-131.
- 15 S. Blomgren, Studia Fortunatiana (Uppsala 1933) and articles listed in bibliography. For Tardi, see note 12. A. Meneghetti, "La latinità di Venanzio Fortunato" (Didaskaleion vol.5, 1916, pp.195-298; vol.6, 1917, pp.1-166).
- 16 J. Szövényfy, Weltliche Dichtungen des Lateinischen Mittelalters, vol.1 (Berlin 1970) pp.219-291; K. Langosch, Profile des Lateinischen Mittelalters (Darmstadt 1967) pp.49-79.
- 17 K. Steinmann, Die Geleswintha-Elegie des Venantius Fortunatus (Carm.6.5). Text, Übersetzung, Interpretationen. (Zurich 1975); G. Davis "Ad sidera notus: Strategies of lament and consolation in Fortunatus' De Geleswintha" (Agon 1, 1967) pp.118-134.
- 18 For the epitaph, see Avitus, Carm.31 (MGH AA vol.6, sect.2) p.194. For comment, see Riche, pp. 186-187.
- 19 For examples of Fortunatus' influence, see M. Manitius, Poetarum Posteriorum Loci Expressi ad Fortunatum (MGH AA 4) pp.137-144; Alcuin - the bishops, kings and saints of York, ed. P. Godman (Oxford 1982) introd. pp.lxix-lxxxviii; R. W. Hunt and M. Lapidge, "Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in late Anglo-Saxon England" (Anglo-Saxon England 8, 1979) pp.279-295; A. Cordoliani, "Fortunatus, l'Irlande et les Irlandais" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) pp.35-43. For general comment, see J. Szövényfy, Weltliche Dichtungen des Lateinischen Mittelalters, vol.1 (Berlin 1970) p.285 f.
- 20 For example, the selection given in the Oxford Book of Medieval Verse, ed. F.J.E. Raby (Oxford 1959) nos.54-58.

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

- 1 Gregory, HF 4.27. Though Sigibert's action here is very different from that of his brothers, he was continuing a Merovingian tradition of foreign dynastic marriages. See E. Ewig, "Studien zur Merowingischen Dynastie" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien 8, 1974) p.38 f.
- 2 Paul the Deacon, HL 2.13.
- 3 Fortunatus, VM 4.670-671.
- 4 Fortunatus, Poem 11.6.8.
- 5 J.R.Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1980) vol.2, A.D. 395-527, p.1153; Venantius 2.
- 6 J.R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1980) vol.2, A.D. 395-527, p.1153; Venantius 3.
- 7 J. R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1980) vol.2, A. D. 395-527, p.1153; Venantius 4.
- 8 Gregory, Registrum Ep.1.33 (MGH Ep. vol.1) p.47, line 5.
- 9 J.R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1980) vol.2, A.D. 395-527, p.303.
- 10 Fortunatus, VM 4.658-660.
- 11 Baudonivia refers to the poet as Fortunatus in her life of Radegund (Vita 2, prolog.). The poet himself, in his verse ex nomine suo to Felix of Nantes, Poem 3.5, uses the letters of Fortunatus to initial the lines; cf. his reference to himself also as Fortunatus in Poem 11.4.3. Paul the Deacon, too, refers thus to the poet (HL 2.13). These points seem to offer sufficient basis for the general, though not universal, habit among later scholars of using the name Fortunatus to refer to the poet.
- 12 Fortunatus, VM 4.668-669.
- 13 Koebner, p.11, sees youthful traits in the early works written for the court at Metz and so conjectures 540 as the date of the poet's birth. Tardi, p.24, and Caron, p.227, suggest 530, whilst J. Szövényfy, Weltliche Dichtungen des Lateinischen Mittelalters (Berlin 1970) p.223, offers the compromise of a date between 535 and 540. In the absence of further information, all these suggestions remain mere conjecture, and greater precision cannot be achieved.
- 14 Tardi, pp.26-28.

Notes on Chapter One

- 15 Procopius, De Bell. Goth. 7.1.35.
- 16 Fortunatus, VM 4.658-662. No other information on this Bishop Paul can be found in the sources. Paul the Deacon, HL 2.10, mentions a Patriarch Paul who presided over the church of Aquileia and fled from the Lombards to the island of Grado. See E. Stein, Chronologie des Metropolitains schismatiques de Milan et d'Aquilée (reprinted in Opera Minora Selecta, Amsterdam 1968) pp. 402-412.
- 17 Tardi, pp.35-37.
- 18 Fortunatus, VM 4.665-667.
- 19 Paul the Deacon, HL 2.12.
- 20 Tardi, pp.38-39.
- 21 Riche, pp.143-145.
- 22 Gregory, De Virt. S. Mart. 1.15.
- 23 Paul the Deacon, HL 2.13.
- 24 See E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) pp.83-84, on the topos of self-deprecation.
- 25 For example, Fortunatus, Poems 2.9.1-16, 5.5.sect.1-2, 5.6.sect.1, 9.7.13-20.
- 26 See M. Manitius, Index 3, Poetarum Priorum Loci Expressi a Fortunato (MGH AA vol.4) pp.132-137. See also M. Manitius, "Zu spätlateinischen Dichtern" (Zeitschrift für Österreichischen Gymnasien, 1886) pp.250-251.
- 27 In addition to Manilius' Index, see S. Blomgren, "De Venantio Fortunato Lucani Claudianique imitatore" (Eranos 48, 1950) pp. 150-156. See the other articles by Blomgren listed in the bibliography to this thesis for Fortunatus' echoes of other classical poets.
- 28 See Manitius' Index: also the articles by S. Blomgren, cited in the bibliography.
- 29 Fortunatus, VM 1.14-23.
- 30 See, for examples of Greek words and references, Fortunatus, Poems 5.1.1, 7.8.25, 7.11.4, 7.11.12 f., 8.1.1-4, 9.6.9-10, 9.7.5-11, VM Epist.ad Greg. sect.1. For comment, see Tardi, p.55; A. Meneghetti, "La Latinità di Venanzio Fortunato" (Didaskaleion 5,

Notes on Chapter One

- 1916) pp.204-205 and 275-278; E. Clerici, "Note sulla lingua di Venanzio Fortunato" (Rendiconti d'Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere: Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, vol.104, 1970) pp.219-251. For the general knowledge and use of Greek in Italy and Gaul at this period, see W. Bershin, Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter (Berne 1980) chapter 5, "Das Gotische Italien" and chapter 7, "Das Merowingische Gallien - Karolingerhofs"; P. Courcelle, Les lettres Grecques en Occident (Paris 1948) part 2, chapter 1, "Les études grecques en Italie", pp.119-136, and chapter 3, "La culture grecque en Gaule", pp.210-253.
- 31 Tardi, p.224.
- 32 See Tardi, Book 3, chapter 2; E. Clerici, "Note sulla lingua di Venanzio Fortunato" (Rendiconti d'Istituto Lombardo, vol.104, 1970) pp.219-251; A. Meneghetti, "La Latinità di Venanzio Fortunato" (Didaskaleion 5, 1916) p.233 f.
- 33 Meyer, p.72, and Koebner, p.123.
- 34 G. Cuscito, "Venanzio Fortunato e le Chiese Istriane" (Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, vol.26, 1978) pp.209-225.
- 35 Koebner, pp.120-125.
- 36 Paul the Deacon, HL 2.4.
- 37 Brennan, p.14. For Nicetius' contacts in the East, see N. Gauthier, L'évangélisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.172-181.
- 38 Laporte argues for 564 as the date of Fortunatus' arrival in Gaul: J. Laporte, "Le royaume de Paris dans l'oeuvre hagiographique de Fortunat" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers, 1952) pp.170-171. It is indeed, as Laporte says (note 5), arbitrary to fix as the date of the poet's arrival the earliest date which can be substantiated. It is, however, equally true that alternative schemes, though attractive, are also arbitrary and cannot even be fixed by reference to any externally verified point of reference.
- 39 Meyer, p.36, argues that the first collection of poems comprised Books 1 to 8. Tardi, p.92, observes that Book 8 begins with an open address, ad diversos ex nomine suo. This Tardi reasonably interprets as a preface to a second collection of poems, in parallel to the preface to Gregory at the beginning of Book 1. But he has overlooked Poem 5.5, written on the subject of the conversion of the Jews at Clermont-Ferrand in 576. The

Notes on Chapter One

- publication of this collection must accordingly be dated after this event.
- 40 Fortunatus, VM 4.686-701. For the chapel of St. Martin, see L. Navarra, "A proposito del De navigio suo de Venanzio Fortunato in rapporto alla Mosella de Ausonio e agli Itinerari di Ennodio" (Studi Storico-Religiosi, vol.3, part 1, 1979) pp.85-86.
- 41 Fortunatus, VM 4.637, refers to Germanus of Paris as being still alive. Germanus died in 576, which date must therefore be the terminus post quem.
- 42 For this journey, see K. Standacher, "Das Reisegedicht des Venantius Fortunatus" (Schlern 15, 1934) pp.274-282, and W. Hopfner, "Zur Reise des Venantius Fortunatus durch die Alpen" (Deutsche Gaye 37, 1936) pp.21-25, both quoted by Brennan, note 30, p.63. Detailed maps of the relevant areas are given by W. Cartellieri, "Die römischen Alpenstrassen der Brenner, Reschen-Scheideck und Plöcken pass" (Philologus, Supplementband 18, Heft 1, Leipzig 1926) following p.186.
- 43 Fortunatus, VM 4.650: Hic ~~sedens~~ sedens in colle superbit Aguntus (Here Aguntum sits proudly on the mountain). For this site, see G. Alföldi, Noricum, trs. A. Birley (London 1974) p.217.
- 44 See G. Alföldi, Noricum, trs. A. Birley (London 1974) pp.216-217.
- 45 F. Leo, "Venantius Fortunatus der letzte römische Dichter" (Deutsche Rundschau, 32, 1882) p.415, accepts the pious motivation. A. Ebert, Histoire Générale de la Littérature du Moyen Age en Occident, trs. E. Leroux (Paris 1883) vol.1, p.553, considers the journey directed by the intention to make a pilgrimage, though without any formal vow being taken. R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 500-1200 (Paris 1944) vol.1, p.42, compromises with the primary motive being a pilgrimage, the secondary motive escape from Italy when the Lombard invasion threatened. J. Szövényfy, Weltliche Dichtungen des Lateinischen Mittelalters (Berlin 1970) p.234, concludes cautiously that there cannot have been only a religious motive for the journey. Koebner, p.14, is more sceptical in pointing out that Fortunatus' lengthy route via Metz and Paris was hardly consistent with a pilgrimage to Tours: he also points out on p.125 that Fortunatus may have been implicated in the downfall of Bishop Vitalis of Altinum and have had to flee the country for that reason. See also Tardi, p.62, Caron p.228, and P.G. Walsh, "Venantius Fortunatus" (The Month 120, 1960) pp.292-302, for similar views.
- 46 For the impracticability of the route through Narbonne at this

Notes on Chapter One

- time, see Brennan, note 40 on Chapter 1, p.65.
- 47 Brennan, pp.12-14.
- 48 See Ep. Austr. nos.5, 6, 7 and 21 (MGH Ep. vol.3) pp.116-119 and 133-134. For comment on Nicetius' wide-ranging interests and contacts, see N. Gauthier, L'évangelisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.172-181. Trier had always, indeed, had strong contacts with Italy and the East: see J.D. Randers-Pehrson, Barbarians and Romans: the Birth Struggle of Europe, A.D. 400-700 (London 1983) chapter 1, "Trier", pp.3-33.
- 49 Gregory, Vita Patr. c.17 and Gl. Conf. c.92.
- 50 Gregory, Vita Patr. c.17. For Gregory's account of Aredius' life and works, see HF 10.29. For Fortunatus' work for Aredius, see Poem 5.19; cf. Poem 6.7.2.
- 51 Fortunatus, Poems 5.10, 5.15, 10.13.
- 52 See Fortunatus, VM 4.331-386; Sulpicius Severus, Dial. 3.11.2 f. For comment on the site, see E. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) pp.229-232.
- 53 Gregory, HF 4.27.
- 54 On these cultural assimilations, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1953) p.24 f. For the Roman frontier policies leading to such assimilation, see W. Goffart, Barbarians and Romans A.D. 418-584. The Techniques of Accommodation (Princeton 1980) especially chapters 1 and 4. See also E. A. Thompson, Romans and Barbarians: the Decline of the West (Wisconsin 1982) chapter 2.
- 55 See P. Lasko, The Kingdom of the Franks, North West Europe Before Charlemagne (London 1971) pp.25-32.
- 56 See L. Musset, The Germanic Invasions, trs. E. and C. James (London 1975) p.75.
- 57 Gregory, HF 2.37.
- 58 Gregory, HF 2.38.
- 59 R. Buchner, Die Provence im merowingischer Zeit (Stuttgart 1933) pp.6-29.
- 60 E. Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1949-1959) vol.1, p.319 f. : "Aperçu du peuplement en Gaule Mérovingienne".

Notes on Chapter One

- 61 E. James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South West Gaul (B.A.R. Suppl.Ser. 2/5, i) p.185.
- 62 J. Boussard, "Essai sur le peuplement de la Touraine" (Moyen Âge 60, 1954) pp.261-291; C. Lelong, "La question de peuplement franc en Touraine" (Bulletin Trimestriel Soc. Archéol. Touraine, vol.34, 1964) pp.79-84.
- 63 M. Broens, "Le peuplement germanique de la Gaule entre la Méditerranée et l'Océan" (Annales du Midi, vol.68, fasc.1, 1956) pp.17-37. Broens suggests that the Franks may have formed 5-10% of the population in the valley of the Garonne, but this conclusion is challenged by E. James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South West Gaul (B.A.R. Suppl.Ser. 2/5, i) pp.204-207.
- 64 For general works on the Merovingians, see S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London 1926) and A. Thierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens (Paris 1858). For a more recent account, see R. Latouche, Les grandes invasions et la crise de l'Occident au Ve siècle (Grenoble 1946) and Gaulois et Francs de Vercingetorix à Charlemagne (Grenoble 1965); E. Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.1, chapters 1 and 2. On the Frankish kings, see E. Ewig, "Studien zur merowingischen Dynastie" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien 8, 1974) pp.15-59; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Long-haired Kings (London 1962) and Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent (Oxford 1971). On Frankish art and architecture, see P. Lasko, The Kingdom of the Franks, North-West Europe Before Charlemagne (London 1971).
- 65 Gregory, HF 4.22.
- 66 Gregory, HF 4.23.
- 67 Gregory, HF 4.27. For the presence of Gogo on this mission, see Pseudo-Fredegard, 3.57, and Fortunatus, Poem 7.1.41-42.
- 68 Gregory, HF 4.28.
- 69 For the two main Merovingian accounts of Radegund's life, that by Fortunatus and the slightly later one by the nun Baudonivia, see De vita S. Radegundis Lib.1 and 2 (MGH SRM vol.2) pp.359-395. For Gregory's references and documentation of the bishops' support for her, see HF 3.4, 3.7, 6.29, 6.34, 7.36, 9.2, 9.38-43, 10.15-16. For the standard biography, see R. Aigrain, Sainte Radegonde (3rd. ed. Paris 1924). See also F. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich (Munich 1965) p.157 f.; E. Delaruelle, "Sainte Radegonde, son type de sainteté et la chrétienté de son temps" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952) pp.65-74; G. Marie, "Sainte Radegonde et le milieu monastique contemporaine" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des

Notes on Chapter One

- journées de Poitiers 1952) pp.219-225; R. Aigrain, "Le voyage de sainte Radegonde à Arles" (Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques 1926-1927) pp. 119-127; F.S. Wemple, Women in Frankish Society (Philadelphia 1981) especially pp.38-39, 132, 140-142, 155, 158, 165, 176, 181, 183-185, 220-221.
- 70 Gregory, HF 4.45.
- 71 Gregory, HF 4.47.
- 72 Gregory, HF 6.1 f.
- 73 Gregory, HF 5.14 and 26.
- 74 Gregory, HF 5.49 f.
- 75 He was probably half-cousin to Chilperic. See Meyer p.84.
- 76 Gregory, HF 5.34.
- 77 Gregory, HF 9.20.
- 78 Leubovera was Abbess at the time of the great scandal, shortly after Radegund's death. See Gregory, HF 9.39.
- 79 Tardi, p.61.
- 80 E. Salin, "Les conditions de vie au temps de Radegund et de Fortunat d'après le témoignage des sépultures (1)" (Études Mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952) pp.269-272.
- 81 For example, see F. Lot, La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen Âge (Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi 6, 1931, revised ed. Paris 1951) p.435 f. Also M. Roger, L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes (Paris 1905) p.100 f.
- 82 Riché, chapter 6.
- 83 Gregory, HF 4.24.
- 84 Stroheker, no.38.
- 85 Pseudo-Fredeggar, 4.28.
- 86 For the verse, see H. Keil, Grammatici Latini, vol.5 (Leipzig 1855-1890) p.579. For the letters, see Ep. Austr. nos.12 and 17 (MGH Ep.vol.3). Of the two letters, one (no.12) has interesting echoes of the motif of the desolation of separation which is

Notes on Chapter One

found in Fortunatus' poem to Duke Lupus, Poem 7.8, and the poem to Mummolen, Poem 7.14. For the Vita S. Maximi, see Migne, PL 80, 31 f. For further discussion of Dynamius, see chapter 6.

- 87 See Anthologia Latina, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, no.390. The Eucheria referred to in the last line as the writer is commonly taken as being Dynamius' wife: see Stroheker, no.118. For comment, see P. Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1984) pp.28-29.
- 88 For further discussion, see Riche', pp.184-189.
- 89 Gregory, HF 6.7. See Stroheker, no. 151.
- 90 Gregory, HF 4.46. See Stroheker, no.147.
- 91 Gregory, HF 4.46.
- 92 For discussion of the poems to the Provençal group, see chapter 8.
- 93 Gregory, HF 6.9.
- 94 For general discussion, see Riche', p.189.
- 95 Gregory, HF 6.39.
- 96 On Gregory, see S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London 1926) especially Book 2, chapter 4, "Gregory of Tours and his circle in Auvergne"; O.M. Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours, translated with an Introduction (reprinted in Oxford, 1971) vol.1, pp.1-447; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Long-haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History (London 1962) chapter 3, "The work of Gregory of Tours in the light of modern research"; E. Auerbach, Literary Language and Public Taste in Late Latin Antiquity and the Middle Ages, trs. R. Mannheim (London 1965) chapter 2, "Latin Prose in the Early Middle Ages"; M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après les oeuvres de Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) p.14 f.
- 97 Gregory 1, Registrum Ep., Ep.6.5 (MGH Ep.vol.1) p.383.
- 98 Gregory 1, Registrum Ep., Ep.11.35 (MGH Ep.vol.1) p.304.
- 99 Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 100 Gregory, HF 5.44, 6.46. The attribution to Chilperic of Bishop Germanus' epitaph is sadly, as Krusch observes, a mistaken conflation of two passages in an edition of 1603: see Krusch's note, MGH SRM vol.7, pp.345-346.

Notes on Chapter One

- 101 Meyer, p.84.
- 102 Pseudo-Fredeggar, 3.59.
- 103 Ep. Austr. nos.13, 16, 22 and 48 (MGH Ep. vol.3) pp.127, 130, 134, 152-153.
- 104 Koebner, pp.22-23.
- 105 Riché, p.222.
- 106 D. Norberg, "Ad epistulas varias merovingici aevi adnotationes" (Eranos 35, 1937) p.111.
- 107 For further discussion of Gogo and Fortunatus' poems to him, see chapter 8.
- 108 Koebner p.23.
- 109 See P. Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1984) pp.26-29; Riché, chapter 6, sect.3, "Lay Education in Barbarian Gaul", pp.210-245.
- 110 Fortunatus, Vita S. Rad. 2.5.
- 111 MGH Ep. vol.3, Merov. et Karol. aevi, vol.1, p.452.
- 112 Caesarius, Regulae sanct. virg., rule 17 (PL 67) col.1109.
- 113 Caesarius, Regulae sanct. virg., rule 36 (PL 67) col.1116.
- 114 Caesarius, Regulae sanct. virg., rule 32, (PL 67) col.1115.
- 115 For general discussion, see S.F. Wemple, Women in Frankish Society (Philadelphia 1981) ch.8.
- 116 See Agii Vita et obitus Hathumodae, c.2 (MGH Script.4) p.167.
- 117 C. Nisard, Le poète Fortunat (Paris 1980) p.89 ff.
- 118 Vita Aredii (MGH SRM vol.3) c.10, p.586.
- 119 Vita Droctovei (MGH SRM vol.3) c.8, p.539. Fortunatus, Poem 11.11; cf. Poem 11.13.9.
- 120 E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule (Paris 1950) p.161 ff.; M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Gregoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.200, pp.211-214.
- 121 E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule (Paris 1950) p.189.

Notes on Chapter One

- 122 Fortunatus, Poems 1.5 and 10.6.91-92.
- 123 Gregory, HF 2.17.
- 124 E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule (Paris 1950) p.194 ff.
- 125 For example, see E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule (Paris 1950) pp.241, 302. See also E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1949-1959) vol.2, ch.20, p.131 ff.; and R. Markus, "The Cult of Icons in Sixth Century Gaul" in From Augustine to Gregory the Great (London 1983) no.12, for the importance of Christian representational art in Gaul.
- 126 See E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1949-1959) vol.4, chs.32-36.
- 127 Fortunatus, Poems 1.19-21: especially Poem 1.19.9-14, for the mosaic.
- 128 See E. Baldwin-Smith, The Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (New York 1978) passim.
- 129 See, for example, M. Prou, Les monnaies mérovingiennes: Catalogue des Monnaies Françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris 1892) nos. 38-54, p.10 ff. Also A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française (Paris 1912) p.196 ff.
- 130 E. Auerbach, Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and the Middle Ages, trs. R. Mannheim (New York 1965) p.261.
- 131 Fortunatus, Poem 6.9.13-16.
- 132 Conc. Tur. (567) (MGH Legum Sect.3. Conc.1) pp.121 and 136.
- 133 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.19.
- 134 Gregory, HF 4.47 and 49.
- 135 Meyer, pp.6-9.
- 136 Gregory, HF 9.42.
- 137 Fortunatus, Poems 7.1-4 (to Gogo), 2.13 (to Traseric), 7.16 (to Conda). Traseric, the recipient of a letter from Gogo (Ep. Austr. no.13, MGH Ep. vol.3) was probably also the same Traseric addressed by Fortunatus in Poem 2.13. He is identified by Gauthier as Bishop of Verdun: see N. Gauthier, L'évangélisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.232-233.

Notes on Chapter One

- 138 Meyer, p.90 ff.
- 139 See chapter 8 for discussion.
- 140 See Brennan, p.23.
- 141 Fortunatus, VM 4.636-639.
- 142 Gregory, HF 4.19 and 51, for the building of the church.
Fortunatus, Poem 2.16 De S. Medardo.
- 143 For discussion of this poem, see p. 130 f.
- 144 For discussion of this poem, see p. 247 f.
- 145 Gregory, HF 4.18.
- 146 Gregory, HF 9.40.
- 147 Gregory, HF 4.45.
- 148 For discussion, see p. 300 f.
- 149 For discussion, see p. 164 f.
- 150 See Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.10.
- 151 Meyer, pp.97-98.
- 152 Gregory, Vita S. Mart. 1.2. The latest entry in this book is July 4th, 593. (Vita S. Mart. 4.45).
- 153 See Brennan, p.31, for arguments towards this conclusion.
- 154 Fortunatus, VM 4.661-662.
- 155 Fortunatus, VM 1.34-35.
- 156 Tardi, p.87 ff.
- 157 For example, Rufinus, Hist.7.7.2; Paulinus of Nola, Ep.51.1; Augustine, Ep.28 (title), Ep.36 (title), Ep.149.1 etc.; Gregory, Vita S. Mart. 2.4.
- 158 Gregory, HF 9.40.
- 159 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.104.
- 160 Duchesne, vol.2, p.83.

Notes on Chapter One

- 161 Fortunatus, Poem 10,14.
- 162 A. Thierry, Récits des temps mérovingiens (Paris 1858), pp.381-382. derived from Lucchi, *Vita Fortunati*, 61 (PL 88, 39).
- 163 See Caron, p.249; R. Aigrain, Sainte Radegonde (3rd ed. Paris 1924) p.82; Tardi, p.85; P.G. Walsh, Venantius Fortunatus, The Month 120, 1960) p.292.
- 164 Gregory, HF 7.42, 6.19; Corippus, *In laus Iust.* 3.160; cf Cassiodorus, *Var.*11.35.1.
- 165 Leo, in his footnote on Poem 11.4.3, suggests that *agens* is used mainly as a play on the name Agnes and means *instans*, *instanter*. Cf. for a play on this name, Poem 11.3.9-10, and for a similar verbal joke, Appendix 5.
- 166 Baudonivia, *Vita Rad.*2.10. For concise listing of Fortunatus' diplomatic contacts, see R.A. Meunier "L'intérêt politique de la correspondance de Saint Fortunat" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) pp.239-248.
- 167 For discussion, see 237 f.
- 168 See Brennan, p.29.
- 169 For discussion, see p. 188 f.ow.
- 170 Gregory, HF 4.51.
- 171 The only exception is Fortunatus' friendship with Galactorius, praised by the poet as *defensor* and *praefectus* of Bordeaux and appointed as such by Guntram (Poems 7.25 and 10,19). As Meyer observes (p.28), these poems must have been written after 584, when Bordeaux came into Guntram's power until his death in 593. But since Galactorius was a native of Bordeaux (Poem 10.19.3 - *Burdegalensis eras*) and therefore presumably not an incomer, appointed by Guntram from elsewhere in his kingdom, this connection shows the poet's continuing contact with Bordeaux, rather than any liaison with Guntram.
- 172 For discussion, see p. 139 f.ow.
- 173 Koebner, p.105.
- 174 Gregory, HF 9.20.
- 175 See Meyer, p.22, and Koebner, pp.208-209, for the reasons for supposing that Fortunatus was one of Gregory's retinue.

Notes on Chapter One

- 176 Gregory, HF 10.15.
- 177 Duchesne, vol.2, p.83.
- 178 See B. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, "S. Venance Fortunat, évêque de Poitiers. Les témoignages de son culte " (Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 70, fasc.3/4, 1952) p.252 ff.
- 179 Meyer, pp.25-29, 108.
- 180 Tardi, pp.92-96.
- 181 Meyer, p.28 ff.
- 182 Duchesne, vol.2, p.477.
- 183 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.52, for Thaumastus' banishment. On both bishops, see Duchesne, vol. 3, p.157-158.
- 184 Gregory, HF 6.20.
- 185 On the manuscript tradition, it seems likely that the books were longer in their original form. As Leo concluded, the manuscript from which our text of the eleven books derives is corrupt (Leo, Proemium sect.2; cf. Koebner, Excursus 2, pp.125-128) and almost certainly must be supplemented from Σ , the Paris MS 13048. This manuscript is an unsystematic and random collection of poems, some of which are also found in the other manuscript tradition, in place in the eleven books. But Σ often offers not only a better and more accurate text for the poems of the eleven books but also a number of poems which do not appear in the other tradition but are undoubtedly genuine and must once have been included in the main body of Fortunatus' work.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

- 1 E. Auerbach, Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, tr. R. Manheim (London 1958) p.61.
- 2 See E. Salin, La Civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.1, especially chapters 4 and 14.
- 3 Gregory, HF, 4.46.
- 4 See P. Riche, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, 6th to 8th Centuries, tr. J. J. Contreni (South Carolina 1976) pp.239-243.
- 5 Procopius, De Bello Gothico, 3.33.5-6.
- 6 M. Prou, Les Monnaies Mérovingiennes: Catalogue des Monnaies Françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris 1892), nos. 38-54 and 56, p.15 and Plate 1, no.22. See also A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de Numismatique Française, vol. 1 (Paris 1912) fig. 173, p.198 and pp.196-202; and R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) p.28 ff. For an account of such imperial imagery, see S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) p.202 ff.
- 7 Gregory, HF, 5.17.
- 8 Gregory, HF, 6.2.
- 9 See A. R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A. D. 550-751", (Speculum 51, 1976) pp.381-410, especially p.384 ff.
- 10 See H. Wieruszowski, Die Zusammensetzung der Gallischen und Frankischen Episcopats bis zum Vertrag von Verdun (843) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nationalität und der Standes (Bonner Jahrbücher 127, 1922) pp.16-29, quoted by Brennan, pp.104 and 140, note 102.
- 11 See G. Kurth, "De la nationalité des comtes francs au Ve siècle" (Études Franques, Paris-Brussels 1919) vol. 1, pp.174-175. See also F. Lot, La naissance de France (Paris 1948) pp.208-209.
- 12 See Brennan, p.104 ff.
- 13 On the implications of the term senator at this period, see Stroheker, passim; and F. D. Gilliard, "The Senators of Sixth Century Gaul" (Speculum 54, 1979) pp.685-697.

Notes on Chapter Two

- 14* Sidonius, Carm. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, etc.
- 15 Sidonius, Carm. 3.2.5.
- 16 Fortunatus, Poems 1.18-20.
- 17 Fortunatus, Poems 9.6 and 7.
- 18 R. Etienne, Bordeaux Antique (Bordeaux 1962), especially Book 2, chapter 3, "Une petite Rome", pp.159-199, and Book 3, chapter 2, "Une ville universitaire", pp.235-264.
- 19 For discussion of the poems to Leontius, see chapter 7.
- 20 For discussion, see chapters 3 and 4.
- 21 For discussion, see especially chapters 4, 7 and 8.
- 22 See M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature Latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p. 5 ff.
- 23 Fortunatus, Poem 7.7.15 ff.
- 24 Fortunatus, Poem 7.8.49-50.
- 25 Fortunatus, Poem 7.7.49-60.
- 26 Gregory, HF 4.46. Possibly the occasion referred to by Fortunatus, Poem 7.7.25.
- 27 Gregory, HF 9.9 and 14. For comment, see A. R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A. D. 550-751" (Speculum 51, 1976), especially pp.392-393.
- 28 Gregory, HF 6.4.
- 29 Gregory, HF 9.11.
- 30 Gregory, HF 9.14.
- 31 Gregory, HF 10.19.
- 32 See above p.44.
- 33 See Meyer, p.14.
- 34 See below, chapter 8.
- 35 As does Meyer, p.14.

Notes on Chapter Two

- 36 Gregory, HF 4.47 and 49.
- 37 It is interesting to note that Dynamius of Marseilles, in a letter to a friend, dated tentatively by Gundlach to 580, uses precisely the same image of thirst on a long journey and in heat being relieved by a friend's action. (*Epistolae Austrasicae* 12, MGH Ep. vol.3, p.127). The basic elements of the two similes are the same, though Dynamius in his two line prose version uses only one identical word, *aestifer*. This word, however, comes first in Fortunatus' picture and second in Dynamius', perhaps suggesting a connection between the passages. The point of the two analogies is not the same, however. Fortunatus is relieved by news of Lupus' safety, Dynamius by a letter from his correspondent. If the dates suggested for the two poems are correct, Fortunatus may be the source of the motif, acting demonstrably as the foreign literary mentor Gogo asserts the Franks have no need of (*Epistolae Austrasicae* 16, MGH Ep. vol. 3, p.130). Dynamius and Fortunatus were in contact when the latter first came to Gaul (see chapter 8), and Dynamius had contact with Lupus in Marseilles (Gregory HF 4.46 for Lupus in Marseilles, where in all likelihood he met Dynamius). Dynamius could have seen the poem more probably on the latter occasion. But the metaphor is an obvious one, a simple application of Psalm 23 (Vulgate 22), and thus may stem from a common source.
- 38 Fortunatus, VM 4.689-701.
- 39 Gregory, HF 4.46.
- 40 For discussion of this poem, see chapter 8.
- 41 For discussion, see chapter 7.
- 42 Gregory, HF 5.11.
- 43 For discussion, see chapter 7.
- 44 For their legal status, see B. Bachrach, Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe (Minneapolis 1977) p.44; and B. Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental 430-1096 (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sect 6, Paris 1960) sect. 4, "La Déchéance Legale", pp. 291-367. There is debate on this point but the substantial body of opinion is in favour of the position summarised in the text. For examples of church and royal approval of the Jewish community, see Vita Caesarii cc. 28-31; and Gregory, Vit. Patr. 6.7.
- 45 See MGH Ep. vol. 1, pp.71-72. See for comment, B. Bachrach

Notes on Chapter Two

Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe (Minneapolis 1977) p.33; and B. Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental 430-1096 (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sect.6, Paris 1960) p.34 ff.

- 46 See the optimism of Sidonius in Ep. 6.11.1 and the possible cause of this in Ep. 8.13. For comment on the similar policy of Ferroleus of Uzès, see S. Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul (Massachusetts 1937) p.23 f.
- 47 For example, Guntram's hostility to the Jews of Nevers in 585 (Gregory, HF 8.1) and the anti-semitic feeling of his Council of Macon two years earlier may well have been politically motivated because of the Jews' alleged support for the pretender Gundovald. See B. Bachrach, Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe (Minneapolis 1977) p.56 on this incident. Chilperic's enforced baptism of the Jews in Orleans (Gregory, HF 6.17) may have been due to the king's strong and idiosyncratic interest in theology (Gregory, HF 5.44).
- 48 Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 49 See Pseudo-Severus de Menorca, Ep. de Virt. 2 (PL 20.733 = PL 41.822). For comment, see B. Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental 430-1096 (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sect.6, Paris 1960) p.34, note 278.
- 50 For example, the provocative actions of the Jews in Clermont: Fortunatus, Poem 5.5.73-74. cf. Fortunatus, Vita Germ. c.64; and Gregory, HF 6.17.
- 51 Sidonius, Ep. 3.4, 4.5, 6.11, 8.13. For comment, see S. Katz, The Jews in the Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul (Massachusetts 1937) p.9.
- 52 Gallus did not sign the anti-semitic minutes of the Councils of Orleans in 533 and 538 (MGH Conc. 1, pp.65 and 84-86). His death was lamented by the Jewish community (Gregory, Vit. Patr. 6.7).
- 53 Gregory, HF 4.7.
- 54 Gregory, HF 4.11-12.
- 55 Gregory, HF 4.13 and 16.
- 56 Gregory, HF 4.31.
- 57 Gregory, HF 4.35.

Notes on Chapter Two

- 58 For further analysis of the situation in Clermont, see I. Wood, "Ecclesiastical Politics in Merovingian Clermont" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) pp.34-57.
- 59 Gregory, Vit. Patr. 2.
- 60 Gregory, HF 5.11.
- 61 See note 45 above. See also S. Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul (Massachusetts 1937) p.24.
- 62 Brennan (note 38, p.65) suggests that the poem was written for declamation on the anniversary of the conversion of the Jews, i.e. Whitsun 577, since Fortunatus makes much of the Pentecostal imagery. But the emphasis on haste in the covering prose note and in the final fourteen lines of verse makes it clear that the poem was composed almost immediately, though it may of course have also been declaimed on this later occasion.
- 63 For analysis, see chapter 7.
- 64 See below, section 4.
- 65 For more detailed comparisons of the two versions, see below, chapter 7.
- 66 Fortunatus, Vit. Germ. c.62 and 64.
- 67 See Meyer p.78 ff.
- 68 Line 5; cf. Statius Theb. 1.312, "patris ... vagus ~~exsul~~ ab opis": cf. Fortunatus' use of the phrase again in Poem 4.1.17. For a note on this and other echoes of Statius, see S. Blomgren, "De P. Papinii ^{Statii} apud Venantium Fortunatum Vestigiis" (Eranos 48, 1950) pp. 57-65, especially pp. 58-59. Fortunatus would have been familiar with the romantic adventures of Apollonius of Tyre. The Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii is known to have been circulating in the fifth and sixth centuries in a Latin version of the Greek original. See R. Helm, Der antike Roman (Berlin 1948) p.47 f.
- 69 For comment on this "kitchen humour", see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W. R. Trask (London 1979) p.431 ff.

Notes on Chapter Two

- 70 For Vilicus, see N. Gauthier, L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.209-218.
- 71 For the historical context, see p.58 f.
- 72 Horace, Sat. 1.5; Sidonius, Ep. 1.5, 1.8, 3.2, 7.1, 7.6; Ennodius, Carm. 1.1, 1.5, 1.6; Paul. Pell Euchar. 521-530.
- 73 Ovid, ~~Amor.~~ 1.7.54.
- 74 Ovid, Met. 4.778.
- 75 L. Navarra, "A Proposito del De navigio suo di Venanzio Fortunato in rapporto alla Mosella di Ausonio e agli Itinerari di Ennodio" (Studi Storico-Religiosi, vol.3, part 1, 1979) pp.79-131.
- 76 See E. M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) p.62; and J. W. E. Pearce, The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol.9, Valentinian I - Theodosius I (ed. H. Mattingley, C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson, London 1951), the general introduction and pp.13-34, "The Mint of Treveri".
- 77 For example, the beauty of the waters (lines 23-74), the fish (75-149), the vineyards (150-168), the rural deities (169-188).
- 78 Ausonius, Carm. 3.1.
- 79 Though the epithalamium to Sigibert and Brunhild (poem 6.1) and the early panegyric to Charibert (Poem 6.2) make it clear that from the outset he adopted the full role of court poet when the opportunity offered itself.

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

- 1 Augustine, Conf. 6.6.9.
- 2 See Koebner, pp.1-10.
- 3 See Koebner, pp.95-104.
- 4 See S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.1-16.
- 5 See R. R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 500-1000 (Paris 1944) p.44.
- 6 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 2.40.
- 7 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.45.
- 8 S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981).
- 9 For the background to these three texts, see the edition of Menander Rhetor by D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981), Introduction pp. xi-xlvi, and the Appendix containing the work of Pseudo-Dionysius, p.362 f.
- 10 For the structure of the basilikos logos, see Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.1-2 ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981), pp.76-95.
- 11 For further detailed analysis, see L.B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the encomia of Claudius Claudianus" (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 30, 1919) pp.49-81.
- 12 See Pseudo-Dionysius, sect. 272 in Menander Rhetor, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) p.371.
- 13 For example, Pseudo-Dionysius, sect. 272 in Menander Rhetor, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) p.371; and Menander, Treatise 2.3, sect. 378 f., p.94 f., in the same edition.
- 14 On adventus, see S. MacCormack, "Change and continuity in Late Antiquity, The ceremony of Adventus" (Historia 21, 1972) pp. 721-752. Also the same author's Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) chapter 1, p.17 f. For specific examples, see Ammianus Marcellinus 20. 10.1-2 (Julian at Sirmium) and 16.10.2-11 (Julian at Vienne).
- 15 As at the entry of Guntram into Orleans: see Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 16 Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.4 and 10, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) pp.114-127 and 164-171.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 17 Cassiodorus, *Orat. Reliqu.* (MGH AA vol. 12) pp.475-476.
- 18 Ennodius, *Panegyricus Dict. Theod.*, sect.11 and 43. For a discussion of this panegyric, see S.MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.230-234.
- 19 The personification of Rome in Ennodius (*Panegyric* 48, for example) recalls that by Sidonius in the panegyric on Avitus, *Carm.* 7.45 f. The reforming zeal of Theoderic (Cassiodorus, *Orat. Reliqu.*, MGH AA, vol. 12, p.468) is a common rhetorical topic: see Menander's comments in *Treatise* 2.10, sect 416 (ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson, Oxford 1981) pp.166-167.
- 20 For example, Anser writing to Anthony, Lucius Varus to Augustus, Tibullus (possibly) to Messalla, Statius to several patrons, Nazarius to Eunomia. For comment, see T. C. Burgess, "Epideictic Literature" (Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 3, 1902) pp. 89-142.
- 21 See L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the encomia of Claudius Claudianus" (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 30, 1919) pp.49-81. See also A. Cameron, Poetry and Propaganda at the court of Honorius (Oxford 1970) *passim*.
- 22 For example, Sidonius *Carm.* 5.351, 2.318, 7.45.
- 23 Merobaudes, *Pan.* 2.105.
- 24 Sidonius, for example, gives a vivid, if not lurid, account of Anthemius' northern campaigns against the Huns: *Carm.* 2.235-287 (cf. also *Carm.* 7.357 f.). Merobaudes gives a blow-by-blow account of Aetius' victories: *Panegyric* 2.105. Claudian paints a large scale narrative picture of military actions - those of Stilicho against Alaric (*De VI Cos. Hon.* 229 f.) and the northern winter campaign against the Goths (*De Bell. Goth.* 314 f.).
- 25 See S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.115-160, 177-195.
- 26 For a discussion of this, see A. Cameron, Poetry and Propaganda at the court of Honorius (Oxford 1970), chapter 8, "The Pagan at a Christian Court", pp.189-227.
- 27 S. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics" in Empire and Aftermath, ed. T. Dorey (London 1975) p.168.
- 28 The example of the martyrdom of Marcellus is given by MacCormack in "Latin Prose Panegyrics" in Empire and Aftermath, ed. T. Dorey (London 1975) p.170.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 29 Augustine, Conf. 6.6.9.
- 30 Ausonius, Book 20, Gratiarum Actio ad Gratianum Imperatorem pro consulatu.
- 31 For accounts of this panegyric, see Jerome, Ep. 58.8; Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 8.6; and Gennadius, De vir. illust. 49.
- 32 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.4, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect. 388, pp. 114-115.
- 33 See Pseudo-Dionysius, 6, in Menander Rhetor, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) p. 372 f.; and Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.9 in the same edition.
- 34 Cassiodorus, Orat. Ref. (MGH AA 12) p. 465, line 15 ff., p. 466, line 14 f.
- 35 In the East the adventus of the relics of St. Stephen in Byzantium is depicted in the Trier Ivory. On this subject, see K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen" (Dumbarton Oaks Papers 33, 1979) pp. 113-133. Victricius, De Laude Sanctorum, 2.3, describes crowds greeting the arrival of relics in 396. For discussion, see N. Gussons, "Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien: Victricius von Rouen, De laude Sanctorum" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien 10, 1976) pp. 125-133. For the practice in general, see S. MacCormack, "Continuity and Change in Late Antiquity, the ceremony of Adventus" (Historia 21, 1972) p. 746.
- 36 For the use of vexilla, see the adventus coins of Hadrian, for example: in H. Mattingley and E. A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian (London 1926) no. 875, p. 451; no. 883, p. 453; nos. 897-900 and 904, pp. 455-456.
- 37 Ambrose, De Obit. Theod. 3.
- 38 Fortunatus, Vita Albin. 2.
- 39 See, for example, the comments of Andoenus to Robertus in MGH SRM vol. 4, p. 74. The concern here is for correct style as well as correct copying. For earlier attitudes in general, see T. Haarhoff, The Schools of Gaul (Oxford 1920) p. 166 f.
- 40 See G. A. Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric (North Carolina 1980) chapter 7; and T. Haarhoff, The Schools of Gaul (Oxford 1920) p. 166.
- 41 For example, Sidonius, Ep. 9.3, 7.9; and Ennodius, Lib. pro. syn. (MGH AA vol. 8) p. 48.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 42 See S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.1-14. See also E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (Princeton 1956) *passim*.
- 43 Panegyriques latins, ed. E. Galletier (Paris 1952) vol. 2, no. 8, pp.77-103.
- 44 Panegyriques latins, ed. E. Galletier (Paris 1952) vol. 2, no. 8, sect. 7-8, pp.95-97.
- 45 Panegyriques latins, ed. E. Galletier (Paris 1952) vol.1, no.4, sect.19, p.98; vol.2, no.7, pp.59-60.
- 46 Corippus, *In laudem Justini Augusti minoris*, ed. A. Cameron (London 1976).
- 47 For further analysis, see S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.17-89.
- 48 Sidonius, Carm. 4 and 5.
- 49 Sidonius, Carm. 6 and 7.
- 50 A. Cameron, "Corippus Poem to Justin II: a Terminus of Antique Art?" in Continuity and Change in Sixth Century Byzantium (London 1981) pp.129-165.
- 51 See Riche', p.194 f.
- 52 Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 53 See Meyer, p.40.
- 54 Gregory, HF 4.27.
- 55 See Meyer, p.40.
- 56 See A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française (Paris 1912) vol.1, p.201. For the earlier coins, see J.W.E. Pearce, The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol.9, ed. H. Mattingley, C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson (London 1951) pp.16-17.
- 57 See A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française (Paris 1912) vol.1, p.197.
- 58 See R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) p.13 f.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 59 See S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) p.21.
- 60 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.3, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect.378, pp.94-95 and note ad loc. pp.283-284.
- 61 For example, Panegyriques latins, ed. E. Galletier (Paris 1952) vol.1, no.3, sect.10, p.60; sect.2, pp.83-84.
- 62 Sidonius, Carm. 2.8-12. Sidonius took advantage of the fact that the Emperor Anthemius. like the sun, came from the East. cf. Carm. 7.1-3 and also Corippus, In laud. Iust. min. 2.148-151 . It is unlikely that Fortunatus was familiar with Corippus' work at the time of writing this work or derives the motif directly from him, as Brennan suggests (note 143, p.73). The motif is a common and central one of rhetoric and the two poets derive it from a common source.
- 63 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.10, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981).
- 64 For comment on this topos, see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p. 88 f.
- 65 See Meyer, p.87.
- 66 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.1, sect. 376, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) pp.90-91.
- 67 Julian, Or. 3.
- 68 On Sophia, see A. Cameron, "The Empress Sophia" (Byzantion 45, 1975) pp.5-21.
- 69 Corippus, In laud. Iust. min., ed. A. Cameron (London 1976) 2.47-84 and 310-311, etc.
- 70 Fortunatus, Appendix 2. For discussion, see p.164 f.
- 71 See R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) p.18 f.
- 72 For such an analysis of Gregory's views, see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Gregory of Tours and Bede: their views on the personal qualities of kings" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien 2, 1968) pp.31-44.
- 73 Gregory, HF 4.22.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 74 Gregory, HF 4.26.
- 75 Gregory, HF 4.20.
- 76 Vita Balthildis, c.18 (MGH vol. 2) pp.505-506.
- 77 See below, chapter 5.
- 78 See J. Szövérfy, "À la source de l'humanisme chrétien médiéval: Romanus et Barbarus chez Venance Fortunat" (Aevum 65, 1971) pp. 71-86.
- 79 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.3, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect.381, pp.100-101.
- 80 See Sidonius, Carm. 7.114-118; Claudian, De IV Cos. Hon. 18 f., 135 f., de I Cos. Stil. 193 f., De VI Cos. Hon. 335 f. For discussion, see R. Syme, "The Fame of Trajan" in Emperors and Biography (Oxford 1971) pp.89-112.
- 81 See M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.329.
- 82 Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 83 Lines 21-26. "Ut modo sit tutor" (line 22) might suggest a vivid reference to them, though admittedly it could just refer to their present status.
- 84 See lines 12, 15, 19-20, 25, and especially line 3 which expands on "de rege pio" of line 2.
- 85 See tutor (lines 10 and 22), pater (lines 12, 24, and 112) and genitoris (line 26).
- 86 See C. Nisard, Le poète Fortunat (Paris 1890) p. 26; and M.L. Caron, "Le poète Fortunat et son temps" (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts d'Amiens, vol.3, 10, 1883) pp.260-261.
- 87 See J. Szövérfy, "À la source de l'humanisme chrétien médiéval: Romanus et Barbarus chez Venance Fortunat" (Aevum 65, 1971) pp.71-86.
- 88 Koebner, p.95 ff.
- 89 See S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London 1926) p.333.
- 90 Koebner, p.95 ff.; and Meyer, pp.115-126.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 91 P. von Moos, Darstellung, C215, p.94.
- 92 See M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.289 ff.
- 93 See Meyer, p.83.
- 94 Gregory, HF 5.2.
- 95 Gregory, HF 5.3.
- 96 Gregory, HF 5.18.
- 97 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 98 Cf. Horace, Carm. 1.1, atavis edite regibus.
- 99 Cf. Fortunatus, Poem 1.9.9-12 for a similar etymological comment.
- 100 Cf. Horace, Carm. 1.24.2, carum caput.
- 101 See Fortunatus, Poem 6.2.47-54.
- 102 Gregory, HF 4.3.
- 103 Gregory, HF 4.22.
- 104 Gregory, HF 4.51, 5.22.
- 105 Gregory, HF 3.6, 5.18 for the reporting of regal fratricide. See Meyer, p.122 f., for argument in support of this point. C. Nisard, Venance Fortunat, Poesies mêlées traduites pour la première fois (Paris 1887) p.231, note 5 on this poem, suggests that this phrase refers to the failure of Germanus' intervention to stop Sigibert's advance on his brother (Gregory, HF 4.51). This, however, seems curiously convoluted and does not meet the basic problem.
- 106 Gregory, HF 5.3.
- 107 Gregory, HF 5.18. Both these interpretations follow the Thesaurus in taking cathedra as referring de regia dignitate: i.e. throne or royal seat; cf Gregory, HF 2.7, 2.38, 4.22. It would seem preferable to take the word in its more common usage, de munere sacerdotali vel ecclesiastico (imprimis episcopali), and to translate the line:

the lofty see has returned to its true place
(i.e. in loyalty to Chilperic).

Notes on Chapter Three

rather than making the gauche suggestion that the king had actually been unseated.

- 108 M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.319, argues that the cathedra is Soissons, Chilperic's capital, now restored to him after the death of Sigibert. Reydellet's refutation of Tardi's conjecture that the reference is to Paris (Tardi, p.106) is convincing. But his own suggestion perhaps ties the reference too closely to the consequences of Sigibert's assassination, a context which does not seem to be envisaged so directly here for the reasons given in the text.
- 109 Gregory, HF 5.41.
- 110 E. Baldwin Smith, The Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (Princeton 1956) *passim*.
- 111 Gregory, HF 5.44.
- 112 Gregory, HF 5.22, 5.39.
- 113 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.1-2, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect. 376, pp.90-91.
- 114 Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.10.
- 115 Gregory, HF 5.27.
- 116 Gregory, HF 5.34, 6.3.
- 117 Gregory, HF 6.18.
- 118 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 119 See Tardi, p.266 ff.
- 120 Gregory, HF 5.34. For the Gallic traditions, see R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) p.18 f.
- 121 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.3, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect 381, pp.100-101.
- 122 Cf the similarly protective qualities attributed to Charibert (e.g. tutor in 6.2.10, cf. note 72 above) and the pia cura of Sigibert for his people (6.1a.26).

- 123 See Menander Rhetor, *Treatise* 2.4, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect 388, pp.114-115.
- 124 Sidonius, *Carm.* 5.
- 125 M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.334 ff.; R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983), p.18 f.; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Gregory of Tours and Bede: their views on the personal qualities of kings" (*Frühlmittelalterliche Studien* 2, 1968) pp.125-133.

- 126 Acquiratis adhuc nova vel possessa regatis
 (Poem 10.8.17)
(may you win yet new lands and rule over those
you have)

echoes

rex sua regna tenens et nova regna trahens
(Poem 10.7.62)
(the king, holding his kingdom and acquiring
new realms).

Similarly, the verbal parallels in the reference to children between Poem 10.8.21-24 and Poem 10.7.59-64 are close.

- 127 M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981), p.301, linking App. 6 and Poem 10.8, suggests that they were both letters, written soon after the death of Chilperic in an attempt to establish contact between the two kingdoms after this event. The argument hinges on the suggestion that the reference in App. 6, lines 3-6, is more easily taken as applying to Ingund, Brunhild's daughter married to Hermangild (Gregory, HF 5.38), than to her sister, Chlodosind, whose marriage to Reccared was being negotiated at the time of the Treaty of Andelot. But the emphasis in all three poems is on wishes for the future of Brunhild's children (10.7.59-61, 10.8.21-24, App. 6.7-10). The happy and optimistic tone would seem to be more appropriate to hopes for the marriage of Chlodosind (the tense of habet in App. 6.3 being wishful thinking) to Recarred, converted to Catholicism that year and seeking alliance through marriage with the Catholic Merovingian royal family (Gregory, HF 9.14-15), than to Ingund. Her marriage to Hermangild, even at the earlier date of 584/5 suggested for Poem 10.8 and App. 6 by Reydellet, was overshadowed by the persecution of Catholics by Leuvigild and his wife (Gregory, HF 5.38) and ended in exile before 581. The reference to Chlodosind would also specifically echo one of the terms of the Treaty of Andelot. App. 5 and 6, small encomia to Childebert and Brunhild, were both

Notes on Chapter Three

sent through the same messenger, Audulf (App. 5.13, App. 6.15) and were letters, rather than declamations. The king was still only 17 at the time. The excessive alliteration may reflect a youthful taste for joking wordplay, as well as a more general liking among the Franks for this style (see Meyer, p.138). It would be possible to adopt Reydellet's suggestion that these poems were preliminary moves in the effort to establish good relations with the court of Childebert, but for the reasons given above, it seems correct to date them nearer to the Treaty of Andelot than he suggests.

- 128 Gregory, HF 9.11, 9.20.
- 129 Gregory, HF 9.8-12.
- 130 Gregory, HF 9.16.
- 131 Gregory, HF 8.37.
- 132 Gregory, HF 9.9.
- 133 Though Faileuba's only other son had, in fact, died soon after birth (Gregory, 9.38).
- 134 speculum, lux, dulcedo (line 5); ornamentum, honos (line 6); parentela, patria, tutela (line 9); decus, gradus, pietatis opus (line 10) etc.
- 135 For light imagery: speculum, lux (line 5); coruscat (line 9); micans (line 20). For imagery of fruitfulness: messem (line 19); flore (line 23); fructum (line 24); cumulet (line 25).
- 136 See Ep. Austr. no.2 (MGH Ep., vol.3).
- 137 See Ep. Austr. no.10 (MGH Ep., vol.3).
- 138 Gregory, HF 9.21.
- 139 For the biblical references, see Gen. 14.18-20; Ps. 109 (110).4. On the imperial mosaics of Ravenna, see S. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.259-266. For comment on Melchisedech, see Otto von Simpson, Sacred Fortress, Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna (Chicago 1948) p.31. Brennan quotes D. Claude, "Die Bestellung der Bischöfe im Merowingischen Reichen" (ZRG 80, Kan. Abt. 49, 1963) pp.67-71, on Fortunatus' portrayal of Childebert I with its implications of royal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs. Brennan, p.333, note 85, and M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) pp.325-326, would disagree with Claude and argue that Fortunatus

Notes on Chapter Three

had no understanding of the sacral nature of Germanic kingship.

- 140 Otto von Simpson, Sacred Fortress, Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna (Chicago 1948) p.31. Also E. R. Leach, "Melchisedech and the emperor: icons of subversion and orthodoxy" (Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1972) p.5 f.
- 141 Fortunatus, Poem 10.1133-136.
- 142 See note 164, below.
- 143 For the possible influence of Fortunatus by Corippus in the hymn in laudem Mariae, see p.171 f.
- 144 Gregory, HF 9.40.
- 145 See Fortunatus' tributes to her which play on this status in earthly and heavenly terms: Poems 8.5, 6 and 8.
- 146 Baudonivia, Vita Radeg. 2.10.
- 147 Gregory, HF 4.40. For the date (possibly 571) see E. Stein, Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches, vornehmlich unter der Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius Constantinus (Stuttgart 1919) p.34, note 18; and W. Goffart, "Byzantine policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice" (Traditio 13, 1957) p.77. For Justin's interest in the West, see A. Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II" in Continuity and Change in Sixth Century Byzantium (London 1981) pp.51-67, especially pp.55-61.
- 148 Fortunatus, Appendix 1. For discussion of this poem, see p.301 f.
- 149 Fortunatus, Appendix 1.97 ff. See Procopius, De Bell.Goth. 4.25. For comment, see R.R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 500-1200 (Paris 1944) p.55 ff.
- 150 Gregory, HF 9.4; and Baudonivia, Vita Radeg. 2.16. For the reliquary, see Sir M. Conway, "St. Radegund's Reliquary at Poitiers" (The Antiquaries' Journal, 3, London 1923) pp.1-12; and E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) pp.294-295.
- 151 Gregory, HF 9.40.
- 152 For the hymns, see J. Szövényfi, "Venantius Fortunatus and the Earliest Hymns to the Holy Cross" (Classical Folia 20, New York 1966) pp.107-122.

Notes on Chapter Three

- 153 Gregory, HF 4.40.
- 154 See R. Aigrain, Sainte Radegonde (Paris 1918) p.102.
- 155 Baudonivia, Vita Radeg. 2.17.
- 156 Gregory, HF 10.31.
- 157 See E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire (Paris 1949) vol.2, p.671 ff.
- 158 Baudonivia, Vita Radeg. 2.17.
- 159 On Sophia, see A. Cameron, "The Empress Sophia" (Byzantion 45, 1975) pp.5-21. For the praise of an empress, see note 66, above.
- 160 To Sigibert in Poem 6.1a.1-2; to Charibert in Poem 6.2.1-8; to Chilperic in Poem 9.1.11-22.
- 161 See A. Cameron, "The early religious policies of Justin II" in Continuity and Change in Sixth Century Byzantium (London 1981) pp.54-55, 61.
- 162 See especially Corippus, 4.348; and Cameron's notes at loc.
- 163 Corippus, In laud. Iust. min. 4.290-311.
- 164 Fortunatus, Poems 6.1a.1-2,21; 6.2.27-28, 46, 101-102; 9.1.13-20, 102, 122. For Corippus' use of this imagery, see A. Cameron, "Corippus' Poem on Justin II: a Terminus of Antique Art?" in Continuity and Change in Sixth Century Byzantium (London 1981).
- 165 For Fortunatus' possible knowledge of Corippus, see the verbal parallels collected in M. Manitius, "Zu spätlateinischen Dichtern" (Zeitschrift für Österreichischen Gymnasien 1886) p.253. The parallels are not particularly remarkable.
- 166 For a discussion of this topic, see A. Cameron, "The early religious policies of Justin II" in Continuity and Change in Sixth Century Byzantium (London 1981) p.61 and especially note 66, which gives a bibliography.
- 167 For a discussion of this poem, see p.301.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Stroheker no. 218 and 219. See also M. Heinzelmann, Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Continuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Soziale, prosopographische und Bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte (Munich 1976) pp.215-220. Heinzelmann suggests that Fortunatus' description of Leontius' pedigree as *quale genus Romae forte senatus habet* (such a family as the senate at Rome contains) in Poem 4.10.8 strengthens the idea of an Italian connection. But the phrase, like many of Fortunatus', seems to pay the compliment of an imputed senatorial prestige rather than a definite reference to a known connection.
- 2 Both Duchesne, vol.2, p.61, and the Marquise de Maille, Recherches sur les origines chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960), p.75, suggest the sequence of Amelius, Leontius I and Leontius II as bishop, and the Marquise considers that Amelius was the father of Leontius I, taking the reference in Poem 1.11.5 and 7 to Amelius as having this implication. However, E. Griffe, "Un évêque de Bordeaux au VI^e siècle: Leonce le Jeune" (Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique 64, 1963) pp.63-71, argues convincingly that the Leontius in question in this poem (line 8) is Leontius II. But there ~~no firm~~ evidence - whose father Amelius was, the term *heredem* in line 7 not necessarily meaning "son".
- 3 Stroheker, Appendix - "Stammbaume spät¹¹römischer Senatorengeschlechter in Gallien, no.1: Stammbaume der Ruricii der Aviti und der Apollinares."
- 4 Fortunatus, Poem 1.15.9-10.
- 5 Fortunatus, Poem 4.10.11.
- 6 Stroheker no.219.
- 7 Gregory, HF 4.26.
- 8 See p.70 and chapter 2, note 18.
- 9 Fortunatus, Poem 1.15.67-72.
- 10 For comment on Leontius' building, see M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) p.55; and E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) pp.164-167.
- 11 For a particular example, see I. Wood, "Ecclesiastical Politics in Merovingian Clermont" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) pp.34-57. In general, see F. Lot, Naissance de la France (Paris 1948)

- p.231 ff.; and Brennan, pp. 185, 228, 257 ff.
- For these churches, see M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) pp. 54-59 and 280-283; and E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) pp. 165-167.
- Cf. also the use of consensus in the panegyric to Gregory of Tours. For discussion, see p.182 f. and note 27, below.
- Line 47; cf. Claudian, In Eutrop. 1.408, *senserunt damna rebellis*.
- See Fortunatus, Poem 1.14, *de calice Leonti episcopi*.
- Fortunatus, Poems 9.1.115-132, 6.1a. 31-40.
- In view of Fortunatus' liking for clever verbal compliments, such as the echoes of Paulinus of Nola in the poem to Bishop Felix of Nantes (see chapter 7) and the puns on the names of Chilperic and Gregory (Poems 9.1.23-28, 1.9.9-10), we might expect to find echoes of the panegyric of Sidonius to Avitus, both ancestors of Palatina. But the only likely verbal echo is the resemblance of the use of the word *apex* in line 33 of this poem to its use in Sidonius, Poem 6.154, in a common enough phrase. In Sidonius, however, the gods assemble to hear the plea of Rome, among them being the dramatically depicted rivers:
- et ignotum plus notus, Nile, per ortum*
(line 44)
- (and you, Nile, better known for your unknown source).
- Fortunatus' list of rivers concludes with *indico nota mihi* in line 76, a jarring touch of personal comment which might be explained by a reference to Sidonius' lines.
- See especially lines 85-86.
- Cf. Fortunatus, Poems 1.10.1-2; 1.11.2; 1.12.1, 13, 15-18; 1.13.15-18.
- For discussion see chapter 7.
- For a discussion of this form of abecedarian verse, see P. Klopsch, Einführung in die Mittellateinische Verslehre (Darmstadt 1972) pp.5-6. See also D. Norberg, Introduction à l'Étude de la Versification Latine Médiévale (Uppsala 1958) p.56. For comment on such political tensions, see I. Wood, "Ecclesiastical Politics in Merovingian Gaul" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) pp.24-57.

Notes on Chapter Four

- 22 See Stroheker, no. 183.
- 23 Gregory, HF 4.47 and 50, 5.48.
- 24 Gregory, HF 6.11.
- 25 Gregory, HF 6.22.
- 26 Gregory, HF 5.2, 5.14.
- 27 For comment on the delicacy and importance of consensus for a bishop, see P. R. L. Brown, Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours (Stenton Lecture, Reading 1976) p. 19 f.
- 28 Gregory, HF 8.1.
- 29 See lines 17, 23-24, 31-32.
- 30 Through his maternal grandfather, Nicetius of Lyons, and his uncle, Gallus of Clermont-Ferrand, Gregory had close ties with the shrine of St. Julian of Brioude: see Gregory, HF 4.5 and Virt. S. Jul. 47.
- 31 For the importance of the royal praeceptio, see P. Cloché, "Les élections épiscopales sous les Mérovingiens" (Moyen Âge 26, 1924-1925) pp.203-254.
- 32 For discussion of this point, see L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian" (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 30, 1919) pp.55-56.
- 33 See E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) pp. 241, 200, 189; and E. Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.4, ch. 34-36.
- 34 Fortunatus, Poem 1.5.
- 35 e.g. E. Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.4, figs. 187, 188. It is probably significant that there are three Gallic ecclesiastics in the group here.
- 36 As in the encomium to Sigibert, Poem 6.1a.9-10. See chapter 3.
- 37 Gregory, HF 5.37; Vit. S. Mart. 1.11. See C. W. Barlow (ed.) Martini Episcopi Bracaraensis Opera Omnia (Yale 1950) ch.1, "Life of Martin", pp. 1-8. On Martin's work of conversion, see E. Thompson, "The Conversion of the Suevi to Catholicism" in E. James (ed.) Visigothic Spain: New Approaches (Oxford 1980) pp.77-92.

Notes on Chapter Four

- 38 J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West (London 1952), sees an echo of Martin's work in the *Form. Vitae Honestae* in Fredegar.
- 39 Gregory, HF 2.2, 5.37, 6.43, 8.35. For the connection with Tours, see HF 5.37.
- 40 Fortunatus, Poem 5.1.4 speaks of Martin's letter coming across the sea to Poitiers.
- 41 *redditur avulsis spinis* - line 5; *vomere culta* - line 6; *frigora solvit humi* - line 7; *vivaque in exusto flumina fundit agro* - line 10.
- 42 This image of the bishop as successor of the apostles and saints is found elsewhere in Fortunatus: of Hilary of Poitiers (Poem 2.15.13-14, of Euphronius of Tours (Poem 3.6.19-20 and 3.3.23-24), of Gregory (10.12a.7) etc.
- 43 Stroheker no. 148; and Duchesne, vol.2, p.366. E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) p.167, suggests a family connection with Magnus, Praetorian Prefect of Gaul and consul in 460 (Stroheker no. 232), with Magnus Felix, son of Magnus, also Praetorian Prefect (Stroheker, no. 145) and possibly with Flavius Felix, consul under Theoderic in 511. There is no conclusive evidence on any of these points. For a biography of Felix, see W.C. McDermott, "Felix of Nantes: a Merovingian Bishop" (Traditio 31, 1975) pp. 1-24.
- 44 For discussion of other points to Felix, see chapter 7. See also M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) pp.102-105; and E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques (Paris 1950) pp. 167-169.
- 45 Fortunatus, Poem 3.8.41-42.
- 46 See N. Chadwick, "The Colonisation of Brittany from Celtic Britain" (Proceedings of the British Academy 51, 1965) pp. 225-299.
- 47 See N. Chadwick, "The Colonisation of Brittany from Celtic Britain" (Proceedings of the British Academy 51, 1965) p.273.
- 48 Gregory, HF 4.4.
- 49 Gregory, HF 4.4.
- 50 Conc.Tur. (567) (MGH Legum Sect.1, Conc.1) canon 9, p.124.

Notes on Chapter Four

- 51 Conc.Tur. (567) (MGH Legum Sect.1, Conc.1) canon 9, p.124.
- 52 Fortunatus, Poem 3.8.20.
- 53 Gregory, HF 4.4.
- 54 Fortunatus, Poems 3.5.7-8, 3.8.41-42. Cf Gregory, HF 5.40, 7.14, 9.20, for other occasions on which bishops acted in this capacity.
- 55 Fortunatus, Poem 3.8.41-42.
- 56 Fortunatus, Poem 3.9.103-104. For Saxon pirates on the coast of Gaul, see Sidonius, Ep. 8.6.13; and Gregory, HF 2.18 and 19. See also F. Lot, "Les migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande Bretagne du IIIe au Ve siècle" (Rev. Hist. 119, 1915) pp. 1-40, especially pp. 19-20.
- 57 Gregory, HF 9.39.
- 58 Fortunatus, Poem 3.6.19-20.
- 59 Gregory, HF 5.5.
- 60 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 61 Gregory, HF 6.15.
- 62 For the date, see E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) p.167. For a note on the cathedral, see M. Viellard-Tropikouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.172, pp. 101-102.
- 63 For discussion, see chapter 7.
- 64 Cf. Gregory, HF 5.20 for a similar celebration. Liturgical commemoration of a bishop's natalicium is attested by the fifth and sixth centuries: see Brennan p.74, note 153.
- 65 For discussion, see p.180.
- 66 For example, Conc. Tur. (567) (MGH Legum Sect.1, Conc.1) Canon 13 (12) p.125.
- 67 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.77.
- 68 Gregory, HF 5.20. A Merovingian prayer for victory based on the words of Nehemiah (2 Macc. 1.24) begins Domine, deus omnium creator, terribilis et fortis (Lord, divine creator of all,

Notes on Chapter Four

strong and terrible). There are examples of Christ portrayed in military dress: see E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.4, Plate 11, p.396 ff.

69 See Meyer, p.81.

70 For discussion of Felix's literary interests, see chapter 7, sect.2.

71 See p.161.

72 See note 11, above.

73 See note 56, above.

74 See p.73 for comment on Poem 7.8; and chapter 8, sect.2, for comment on Poem 7.9.

75 Gregory, HF 4.46.

76 In the role of dux one official combined both military and civil functions. These complementary functions are summed up neatly in lines 45 to 46:

antiquos animos Romanae stirpis adeptus,
bella moves armis, iura quiete regis
(having inherited the ancient characteristics of your
Roman stock, you wage war with force, you administer
justice in peace).

Not surprisingly the dux is seen most often in the accounts of Gregory in his military capacity: see HF 10.3, 6.31, 8.42, 10.9. The judicial work Fortunatus mentions is not well attested elsewhere. See Brennan p.272 for a discussion of this point. For the post in general, see A.R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the regnum Francorum, A.D. 550-751" (Speculum 51, 1976) pp. 381-410; and F. Lot, Naissance de la France (Paris 1948) p.211. In reference to the date of this poem, Lupus is depicted by Fortunatus as dispensing justice in the company of Gogo (Poem 7.4.27). This poem is dated to Fortunatus' early visit to Metz, to 566/7. But the reference is only to "cum dulce Lupo" and not, unfortunately, to "cum duce Lupo". But this exercise of judicial duties makes it quite likely that Lupus was dux at this point and so offers evidence for an early date for Poem 7.7.

77 Cf. Poem 7.8.31 ff.

78 emicat - line 67; oculos ... videt - line 69; lumina lumen - line 70.

Notes on Chapter Four

- 79 See A.R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A.D. 550-751" (Speculum 51, 1976) p.393.
- 80 A comes was one who was a companion of the king at court, perhaps assisting the king in administrative or judicial affairs, or perhaps being sent on special assignments such as the collection of taxes or an embassy. As domesticus, Condan would have the main responsibility for running the palace and the royal estates. On the duties and position of the domesticus, see A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire (London 1967) pp.602-603. For the Frankish development of this office, see A. Carlot, "Étude sur le domesticus franc" (Bibliothèque de la faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liege 13, Liege 1903). On the comes, see F. Lot, Naissance de la France (Paris 1948) pp.203-211.
- 81 See E. James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South West Gaul, British Archaeological Reports, Supp. series 2/5(i) (Oxford 1972) p.100.
- 82 This designation indicated inclusion amongst those eating at the king's table, an honour which originated in Frankish custom and was mentioned in both Salic and Burgundian codes of law. See Leges Burgundionum (MGH Legum Sect.1, vol.2, part 1), liber constitutionum 38.2, p.70; and Lex Salica (MGH Legum Sect.1, vol. 4, part 1) 41.8, p.156. For a general account, see F. Lot, Naissance de la France (Paris 1948) pp.203-211.
- 83 Gregory, HF 5.46.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 On the genre, see R. Cassel, Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur (Munich 1958). Also C. Favez, La consolation latine chrétienne (Paris 1937) and R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, no. 28, Urbana 1942), especially chapter 7, "Alleviations of Death", pp.215-265. On the motifs and stylistic conventions of consolations, see E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.80f. and P. von Moos, Consolatio (Munich 1971) passim. For general prescriptions on the construction of a consolatio, see Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.9 and 16, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981).
- 2 See R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, no. 28, Urbana 1942) chapter 7, "Alleviations of Death". Also von Moos, Testimonien, T1352.
- 3 See von Moos, Anmerkungen, A219 and A439.
- 4 See von Moos, Testimonien, T655, T701.
- 5 Gregory, HF 5.14.
- 6 Gregory, HF 5.18.
- 7 Gregory, HF 5.39.
- 8 Gregory, HF 6.46.
- 9 Baudonivia, Vita Radeq. 2.16.
- 10 For example, Fortunatus, Appendix 1 and 2 (for discussion, see pp.300 f. and 164 f.) and Poem 6.5 (for discussion, see p.237 f.)
- 11 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 12 For discussion, see chapter 3.
- 13 See von Moos, Darstellung, C216.
- 14 See for this motif, von Moos, Testimonien, T526-551, T597-614.
- 15 Cf. the comment in Poem 10.2.7 that Enoch will not escape death (effugiet). This intermediate state of Enoch and Elijah, neither alive nor properly dead, was the subject of continuing theological confusion. See for comment on the theological problems raised, The Catholic Dictionary of Theology (London 1962) p.216.

Notes on Chapter Five

- 16 See p.161 for discussion of Poem 2.10.21 and the reference to Melchisedech.
- 17 Melchisedech is an example in line 23, David and Solomon in lines 31-32, 45-46, 49.
- 18 Gregory, HF 5.34.
- 19 See von Moos, Testimonien, T704 ff.: cf. Psalm 134.6.
- 20 See von Moos, Testimonien, T1421.
- 21 Gregory, HF 5.39.
- 22 Gregory, HF 5.34.
- 23 Gregory, HF 6.46.
- 24 See von Moos, Darstellung, C216.
- 25 Line 3, cf. Ovid, Trist. 4.7.1: post frigora brumae.
Line 8, cf. Vergil, Ecl. 7.59: nemus omne virebit.
- 26 See von Moos, Testimonien, T1243, T1248.
- 27 For the topos of the sympathetic response of nature to man's experience, see E.R. Curtis, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (London 1979) pp.92 ff.
- 28 See von Moos, Darstellung, C221.
- 29 Fortunatus, Poems 9.4 and 5.
- 30 Gregory, HF 6.46.
- 31 Agnes was no longer Abbess at the time of the revolt in the convent in 589. See Gregory, HF 9.39.
- 32 See von Moos, Testimonien, T625 on varietas fortunae.
- 33 Fortunatus, Poem 6.2. See for comment J. Szövérfy, "À la source de l'humanisme chrétien médiéval: Romanus et Barbarus chez Venance Fortunat" (Aevum 65, 1971) pp.71-86.
- 34 See von Moos, Testimonien, T510.
- 35 Line 45: cf. Sedulius, Carm. Pasch. 2.63: enixa puerpura regem.
Line 92: cf. Vergil, Aen. 9.503: at tuba terribilem sonitum. Cf. also the Christian idea of the last trump of the dies irae.
Line 144: cf. Vergil, Aen. 6.128: sed revocare gradum superasque

Notes on Chapter Five

evadere ad auras.

- 36 Line 105: cf. Matth.5.26.
Line 107: cf. Matth. 3.12.
Line 109: cf. Matth. 13.43.
- 37 See von Moos, Testimonien, T881-884; and R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, no.28, Urbana 1942) pp.313-314.
- 38 See von Moos, Testimonien, T956-962.
- 39 For the thought that all conditions of men die, see von Moos, Anmerkungen, A410. For the idea that all travel the same path, see von Moos, Testimonien, T527, 554, 558.
- 40 See, for example, R. Williams, The Truce of God (London 1983) p.25.
- 41 See H. King, "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women" in Images of Women in Antiquity, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (London and Canberra 1983) p.111.
- 42 Gregory, HF 5.34.
- 43 See von Moos, Darstellung, C214.
- 44 Sect.1 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T514, 545, 641.
Sect.2-3 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T484, 640 f.
Sect.4 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T641.
Sect.6 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T514, 545, 641.
Sect.7 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T633.
Sect.11-13: see von Moos, Testimonien, T561, 655, 808, 1501.
Sect.14 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T640.
Sect.16 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T701, 705, 728, 808, 1371.
Sect.17 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T383.
- 45 Only found in Naevius, Lycurg. trag. 19, and Pacuvius, trag. 396.
- 46 See von Moos, Testimonien, T14-19.
- 47 See celsitudinis vestrae in sect.1 and ut sola ... defendas in sect.2.
- 48 Sect.2 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T99, T110.
Sect.3 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T31, T514, T975.
Sect.4 : see von Moos, Testimonien, T566.
- 49 For discussion see chapter 6.

Notes on Chapter Five

- 50 Gregory, HF 4.28.
- 51 Gregory, HF 4.38.
- 52 See G. Davis, "Ad sidera notus: strategies of lament and consolation in Fortunatus' De Gelesuintha" (Agon 1, 1967) pp. 118-134.
- 53 S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London 1926) p.173. M. C. Caron, "Le poète Fortunat et son temps" (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts d'Amiens, vol.3.10, 1883) pp.264-265.
- 54 See von Moos, Testimonien, T625.
- 55 Cf. the similar analysis by K. Steinmann, De Gelesuintha - elegie des Venantius Fortunatus (Carm. VI.5) (Zurich 1975) pp.115-118. See Steinmann also for a detailed commentary on the text.
- 56 See von Moos, Testimonien T527-551.
- 57 Gregory, HF 4.28.
- 58 Vergil, Aen. 10.843.
- 59 Vergil, Aen. 4.666. For other and unusually dense echoes of Vergil here, see S. Blomgren, "De Venantio Fortunato Vergilii aliorumque poetarum imitatore" (Eranos 42, 1944) p.82 ff.
- 60 For the motif of nature's sympathetic response to man's grief, see E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W. R. Trask (London 1979) p.92 f.
- 61 For the idea that the dead live still, see von Moos, Testimonien, T1507-1510; for the vision of Paradise in consolation, see von Moos, Anmerkungen, A219; on the point that grief is inappropriate for the blessed dead, see von Moos, Anmerkungen, A 405 and Testimonien, T910; for solacium prolis, Testimonien, T1409.
- 62 See P. Brown, The Cult of the Saints (Chicago 1981) chapter 4, and especially p.73 ff.
- 63 G. Davis, "Ad sidera notus: strategies of lament and consolation in Fortunatus' De Gelsuintha " (Agon 1, 1967) pp.118-134, especially p.126 ff.
- 64 See S. Blomgren, "De P. Papinii Statii apud Venantium Fortunatum vestigiis" (Eranos 48, 1950) pp.57-65.

Notes on Chapter Five

- 65 Line 176: cf. Seneca, Medea 953.
- 66 Vergil, Ecl. 5.20-44.
- 67 Vergil, Ecl. 5.45-57.
- 68 Gregory, HF 4.28.
- 69 Matthew, ch. 25, 1-13.
- 70 See note 61.
- 71 Fortunatus, Poem 6.1. For discussion, see p. 271.
- 72 Gregory, HF 5.38.
- 73 See Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.16.
- 74 Gregory, HF 4.22.
- 75 Gregory, HF 4.20.
- 76 Gregory, HF 4.22.
- 77 Fortunatus, Poems 6.2.21-26, 6.6.23-24.
- 78 See J. Laporte, "Le royaume de Paris dans l'oeuvre hagiographique de Fortunat" (Etudes mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers, Paris 1953) p. 172.
- 79 Gregory, HF 3.29.
- 80 For a description of the church, see Fortunatus, Poem 2.10. For a discussion of the reference of this poem, see note 84, below. For notes on the history of the church, see M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1926) no. 200, pp. 211-214.
- 81 Gregory, HF 4.20. The Vita Droctovei (MGH SRM vol. 3) refers to the dedication of the church by Germanus taking place on the same day as Chilbert's funeral. This seems unlikely in itself and the reference in this poem to Chilbert's visits to the church surely imply that the king was alive after its dedication. The query raised by Meyer about the accuracy and authenticity of Gislemar, the author of the Vita Droctovei, may be applied to this detail (Meyer, p. 56-61). Either the date of the dedication or that of the king's death may therefore be inaccurate.
- 82 Gregory, HF 4.2 - Childbert I; Gregory, HF 6.46 - Chilperic; Gregory, HF 8.10 - Clovis and Merovech, Chilperic's sons;

Notes on Chapter Five

- Fredegar, 4.56 - Lothar II; Liber Hist. Franc. 37- Fredegund. According to a document of the Abbey of St. Germain, Ultrogotha and her daughters were also buried there. See R. Poupardin, Recueil des Chartres de l'abbaye de S. Germain-des-Près (Paris 1909) vol.1, p.5 f.
- 83 See Meyer, p.57.
- 84 See M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après les oeuvres de Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) pp.211-214.
- 85 Fortunatus, Poem 9.11 is addressed to Droctoveus, with a greeting to him also in Poem 9.13.9. On the reference to a church in Poem 2.10, Meyer, pp. 56-59, and J. Derens and M. Fleury, "La construction de la cathédrale de Paris par Childebert I d'après le De Ecclesia Parisiaca de Fortunat" (Journal des Savants 1977) pp. 177-253, argue that the poem refers to the cathedral, not to the church of St. Vincent. The arguments rest in general on the suspect nature of the quotation by Gislemar in the tenth century of the document of 566 granting privileges to the attached community, and on the fact that Fortunatus does not mention St. Vincent in this poem. In addition, the church is here referred to as ecclesia in the title to the poem, whereas Fortunatus elsewhere (*Vita S. Germ.* c.116) refers to the basilica S. Crucis. Meyer himself, however, casts doubt upon the authenticity of the titles of the poems and the emphasis within the poem on the Cross (especially line 18) would seem to confirm this attribution. Doubts about Gislemar merely remove further substantiating evidence, if they are correct, without undermining the evidence of the poems themselves. Le Blant suggests that Poem 2.10 was written as an inscription for the walls of Childebert's church (vol. 1, no.208, pp.295-299).
- 86 Vita Balthildis c. 18 (MGH SRM vol.2) pp.505-506.
- 87 Gregory, HF 5.42.
- 88 Line 1: cf. Vergil, Ecl. 9.40: hic ver purpureum. ✓
Culex 50: viridantia gramina. ✓
- 89 Cf. Jerome, Ep. 54.14: suscipe viduas, quas inter virginum lilia et martyrum rosas, quasi quasdam violas, misceas. ✓
- 90 See Culex 397-398; Pliny Nat. Hist. 21.8. For comment, see R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, no.28, Urbana 1942) p.135 f.
- 91 See Acta S. Perpetuae c.11; Sedulius, Carm. Pasch. 5.222-225; Orientius 2.145-148. For discussion, see C. Joret, La Rose dans

Notes on Chapter Five

l'Antiquité et au moyen âge (Slatkine Reprints, Geneva 1970)
p.232 f.

- 92 For the odour of sanctity, see, for example, Tertullian, Mart. 2.4, vos odor estis suavitatis; Lactantius, Inst. 6.22.1, odor virtutis; Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 26.1, appropinquare tibi ... per odorem bonum nominis tui; etc.
- 93 Cf. Fortunatus, Poem 2.1.9-10, where the tree of the Cross bears apples.
- 94 See von Moos, Anmerkungen, A219.
- 95 See P. Brown, The Cult of the Saints (Chicago 1981) chapter 4.
- 96 See E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1959), vol.2, p.36.
- 97 See E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1959), vol.2, p.132 f. Also R. Favreau, Les inscriptions médiévales (Turnhout 1979) pp.53-56.
- 98 See Duchesne, vol.1, pp.190-191.
- 99 See E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres (Berlin 1925) vol.1, p.109, no.1073.
- 100 See Fortunatus, Poems 4.1.5, 4.7.9, 4.9.3, 4.10.5.
- 101 See Duchesne, vol.2, p.426.
- 102 See Fortunatus, Poems 1.5-13, 3.7, 5.6, 10.5-6, 10.10. It is not clear whether or not Poems 1.3 and 1.4 refer to churches in Gaul.
- 103 Sidonius, Ep. 3.12.5.
- 104 For example, Gregory, HF 4.31, for a possible reference to a Requiem Mass.
- 105 Gregory, Vita Patr. 15.4.
- 106 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.64.
- 107 Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.104.
- 108 Con. Aurel. (533) (MGH Legum 3, Conc.1) canon 5.
- 109 Stroheker, no. 178.
- 110 Stroheker, no. 223.

Notes on Chapter Five

- 111 Stroheker, no. 176.
- 112 Stroheker, no. 30.
- 113 See S. Blomgren, "Fortunatus cum elogiis collatus" (*Eranos* 71, 1973) pp. 95-111: see *Blomgren* also for reference to *Namatus* and *Kopp*.
- 114 Gregory, HF 4.5.
- 115 See R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, no.28, Urbana 1942) pp.124-125.
- 116 For example, Fortunatus, Poems 4.1.5 ff., 4.2.5 ff., 4.4.5-30.
- 117 See von Moos, Index, v. Fortunatus.
- 118 Fortunatus, Poems 4.3.1-2, 4.5.17-18, 4.14.5-6, 4.21.1-4, App. 8.12.
- 119 Fortunatus, Poems 4.6.17-18, 4.18.25-26. For the motif, see von Moos, Testimonien, T730-744.
- 120 Blomgren also argues this case against Kopp, who attributed Namatus' epitaph to Fortunatus, Blomgren's arguments being based on similarities of wording rather than on general stylistic resemblances. See S. Blomgren, *Fortunatus cum elogiis collatus* (*Eranos* 71, 1973) pp.99-100.
- 121 For funerary art with such motifs, see, for example, the sarcophagus decorated with the scene of Adam, Eve, and the Tree in E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.4, fig.189, p.414; for comment on other examples, see pp. 414-415.
- 122 Fortunatus, Poems 4.6.25-26, 4.27.20-22.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SIX

- 1 Lower class women are virtually "invisible" in Fortunatus' work. The girl he defends in Poem 10.12 is a possible exception to this rule. For comment on the "invisibility" of women in written sources, see J. Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach" in Images of Women in Antiquity, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (Kent 1983) pp.167-189.
- 2 R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 500-1200 (Paris 1944) pp.55-74. This view is echoed more recently by P. Riché, "La femme à l'époque barbare" in Histoire mondiale de la femme ed. P. Grimal (Paris 1966) vol.1, pp.35-46, especially p.39, and also by H. Le Roux, "Saint Fortunat" (Picton no.8, 1978) pp.50-56.
- 3 R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 500-1200 (Paris 1944) p.57.
- 4 Ennodius, no.349 Hymn.S.Mar. (Carm.1.19) p.254; Sedulius, Carm. Pasch. 2.28-40, 63-69, 5.358-364; Avitus of Vienne (MGH AA vol.6) Contra Eutych. Heres.1, p.16, lines 25-29.
- 5 Pliny, Ep. 4.19.7, 5.14.8, 6.4, 6.7, 7.5 etc.
- 6 For a background summary, see P. Riché, "La femme à l'époque barbare" in Histoire mondiale de la femme, ed. P. Grimal (Paris 1966) vol.1, pp.35-46. For detailed discussion, see S.F. Wemple, Women in Frankish Society (Philadelphia 1981). On particular topics, see Wemple's bibliography.
- 7 See Wemple, p.28 f., 41 f.
- 8 Vita Balt. (MGH SRM vol.2) pp.485-486.
- 9 See Wemple, p.31 f.
- 10 See Wemple, p.46 f.
- 11 Gregory, HF 9.33. Berthegund inherited from her brother (HF 9.33) and also later received the entire estate of her parents (HF 10-12) which she put to purposes strongly disapproved of by Gregory.
- 12 See P. Riché, "La femme à l'époque barbare" in Histoire mondiale de la femme, ed. P. Grimal (Paris 1966) vol.1, pp.43-44; P. Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1984) pp.26-29.
- 13 See Wemple, p.61.
- 14 For example, the part played by Brunhild and Faileuba in the

Notes on Chapter Six

- Treaty of Andelot: Gregory, HF 9.11. For general comment, see J.L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History" in Medieval Women ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, Oxford 1978) pp.31-77.
- 15 See J.L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History" in Medieval Women, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, Oxford 1978) pp.42-43. For Brunhild's friendship with Pope Gregory I, see Gregory I, Ep. 7.5,55,57; 8.4; 9,212, 213; 11.46, 48, 49; 13.7 (MGH Registrum Ep. vol.1, pp.382, 430, 431; vol.2, pp.5, 197-200, 318, 320-322, 371-375).
 - 16 See, for example, Conc. Autiss., canons 36-37 (MGH Legum Sect.3, Conc.1) p.182. For comment, see Wemple, p.141 and note 77, p.274.
 - 17 Fortunatus, Vita Rad.1.12; cf. Vita Rad.1.15 and Poems 8.6.7-10.
 - 18 See Wemple, p.140-141.
 - 19 For example, the treatment given to the conhospitae of the two Breton priests. See Litterae trium episcoporum Gallicorum anno 511 scriptae, ed. J. Meyer, reprinted in Monumenta de viduis, diaconissis, virginibusque tractantia (Florilegium patristicum 42, Bonn 1938) pp.46-47.
 - 20 See Wemple, p.134 f. For an example, see Gregory's comment on the wife of Felix of Nantes, Gl. Conf. c.47.
 - 21 For the general context of these religious establishments, see note 69, chapter 1. For example, the community of Ingitrude in the courtyard of St. Martin of Tours, Gregory, HF 9.33; the nunnery at Nérès near Montluçon, Gregory Lib.vit.patr.9.2; the nunnery in the oratory of St. Martin of Amiens, Gregory, Virt.S.Mart.1.17. For general comment on this development in the expression of women's spirituality and on three particular examples, see E. Delaruelle, "Sainte Radegonde, son type de sainteté et la chrétienté de son temps" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) pp.65-74. Also, for an overview of the development of monasticism, see D. G. Marie, "Sainte Radegonde et le milieu monastique contemporain" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) pp.219-225. See also chapter 1, note 69.
 - 22 Caesarius, Sermo ad sanctimoniales (PL 67) col.1121-1125.
 - 23 See p.37 f.
 - 24 See Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.6 and 7, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981).

Notes on Chapter Six

- 25 Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.7, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect.408, pp.150-151; Claudian, Fesc.de nuptiis Honor. Aug., 12.1-13; Ennodius, Epithal.dict.Max.388 (Carm.1.4) lines 1-12; Fortunatus, Poem 6.1.1-14.
- 26 Ennodius, Epithal. dict. Max. 388 (Carm.1.4) lines 19-20, 57-59.
- 27 For accounts of the development of the various traditions of epithalamium, see C. Morelli, "L'epithalamio nella tarda poesia Latina" (Studi Ital.18, 1910) pp.319-432; s.v. Epithalamium in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, vol.5 (Stuttgart 1962); E.F. Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature" (Speculum 23, 1948) pp.36-40.
- 28 Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.6, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect.399-400, pp.134-137.
- 29 Menander Rhetor, Treatise 2.6, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) sect.411, pp.156-157.
- 30 Claudian, Fesc. de nuptiis Honor.Aug., 12, 1-13.
- 31 Dracontius, Rom.6, Epithal.in fratr. dictum 6-10; Rom.7, Epithal. Ioan.et Vitul. 42-47; Ennodius, Epithal.dict.Max., 388 (Carm.1.4) lines 1-12; Patricius, no.118 in Poetae Latinae, ed. E. Baehrens (Leipzig 1883) vol.5, lines 1-4, pp.422-425.
- 32 For example, Statius, Silv.1.2.65-140.
- 33 For example, Sidonius, Carm.15.
- 34 As they do in, for example, Dracontius, Rom.6, Epithal.in fratr.dictum, 69-71; Patricius, Epithalamium, no.118 in Poetae Latinae, ed. E. Baehrens (Leipzig 1883) vol.5, lines 37-45, pp.422-425.
- 35 Line 4: cf. Ovid, Trist.3.1.40 - cingit ... arbor opaca fores.
Line 6: cf. Ovid, Fast.3.238 - e tenero palmite gemma tumet.
- 36 See M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) pp.306-308.
- 37 Stroheker, no.307.
- 38 Quoted by M.Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.305.
- 39 Gregory, HF 4.27.
- 40 Line 35: cf. Vergil, Aen.8.412 - castum servare cubile.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 41 Line 41: cf. Statius, Achill.1.303 - dirigit totisque novum
bibit ossibus ignem.
Line 46: cf. Statius, Achill.1.560 - falsi sub imagine sexus (or
perhaps Ovid, Epp.ex Ponto, 17.45 - falsa sub imagine lusae).
Line 57: cf. Statius Achill.1.324 - vestisque manu levior
repellit.
Line 80: cf. Statius, Achill.1.148 - tenuisque supervenit annos.
- 42 For the echoes of Statius, see note 41.
Line 70: cf. Sedulius, Carm.Pasch.1.96 - spem gentis opimae.
Line 79: cf. Claudian, in Rufin.2.274 - occiduo maneat sub
cardine.
Line 107: cf. Vergil, Georg.3.307 - Tyrios incocta rubores.
Line 108: cf. Claudian, De rapt.Prosp.1.184 - rutilum squamis
intermicat aurum.
- 43 Fortunatus, Poem 5.3.15-16.
- 44 See Meyer, p.13.
- 45 Though Gregory makes special mention of Brunhild's eloquence (HF
4.27).P. Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European
Love-lyric (Oxford 1968) p.193, suggests that in the description
of Brunhild the imagery of light and radiance and the brilliant,
rich colours portray her as comparable to Claudian's nymphs and
goddesses, whilst her hieratic jewels link her with the heavenly
bride, Jerusalem caelestis.
- 46 See J.L. Nelson, as noted in note 15, above.
- 47 M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine
Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.303. Meyer,
p.129 f.
- 48 Fortunatus, Poem 10.14.7.
- 49 For discussion of dating, see M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la
littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville
(Rome 1981) p.302.
- 50 See Meyer, p.22, for comment on the background.
- 51 It is also likely that Theudelinda was unacceptable because of
her hostile Austrasian and Lombard connections. For comment, see
J.L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and
Balthild in Merovingian History" in Medieval Women, ed. D. Baker
(Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, Oxford 1978) p.43 and
notes ad loc.
- 52 See Meyer, p.129.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 53 M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.301.
- 54 See Tardi, p.102.
- 55 M. Reydellet, as noted in note 53 above. For comment on the Christian rose of love, see P. Dronke, Medieval Latin and the rise of the European love-lyric (Oxford 1968) p.184 f.
- 56 Gregory, HF 4.26.
- 57 J.L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History" in Medieval Women, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, Oxford 1978) pp.31-77.
- 58 For a discussion of Fredegund's career, see Wemple, pp.56-57, 59, 63-65.
- 59 See p.131 f. for Poem 6.2, p.247 for Poem 6.6.
- 60 See Vita Balt. (MGH SRM vol.2) c.18, pp.505-506.
- 61 Thus she is the Theudechild mentioned by Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.40; see Krusch's notes ad.loc. For discussion, see M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Seville (Rome 1981) p.315. For her marriage to Hermegesicles, see Procopius, De Bell. Goth.4.20.
- 62 See the discussion by E. Ewig, "Studien zur merowingischen Dynastie" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien, vol.8, 1974) pp.47-49, and note 179.
- 63 Gregory, HF 4.26.
- 64 Gregory, HF 4.26. For comment, see E. Ewig, "Studien zur merowingischen Dynastie" (Frühmittelalterliche Studien, no.8, 1974) p.49.
- 65 Fortunatus, Poem 2.11.15.
- 66 Duchesne, vol.1, p.206.
- 67 Quoted in Duchesne, vol.1, p.190.
- 68 For discussion, see p.259 f.
- 69 For discussion, see p.232 f.
- 70 For discussion of this consolation, see p.226 f.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 71 Gregory, HF 9.35.
- 72 Stroheker, no.307.
- 73 Fortunatus, Poem 7.6.
- 74 See E. Delaruelle, "Sainte Radegonde, son type de sainteté et la chrétienté de son temps" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) p.65 f.; Dom G. Marié, "Sainte Radegonde et le milieu monastique contemporain" (Études mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) p. 219 f.
- 75 Baudonivia composed her Vita Radegundis shortly after 600. For comment, see Meyer, p.91.
- 76 For example, Fredegund was a more aggressive character than her portrait in Poem 9.1.119-126 would suggest, though there are political reasons for that representation of her: see p.146. But also see Poems 1.15.101-106; 6.3.9-20; 6.4.11-12, 17-22; 7.6.15-20.
- 77 Gregory, HF 9.39.
- 78 G. Kurth, "Le Concile de Macon et l'Âme des femmes" in Études Franques (Paris 1919) vol.1, pp.161-167.
- 79 See note 18, above.
- 80 See Wemple, p.29.
- 81 He is also mentioned in Fortunatus, Poem 8.1.24. Nisard identifies Radegund herself as the writer of this poem and Appendix 3, on the grounds that the delicacy and nobility of the sentiment point to a feminine depth of feeling: C. Nisard, Le poète Fortunat (Paris 1890) p.104. But, as Tardi observes (pp.196-200) linguistic analysis shows close parallels with Fortunatus' technique in other poems. The sentiments, too, are appropriate to the genre of the poem. Nisard's arguments are unconvincing.
- 82 Procopius, De Bell. Goth. 4.25.
- 83 Lucan, Pharsalia, 4.503.
- 84 Line 11: cf. Vergil, Aen.1.70 - totidemque paries aetate ministri.
 Line 14: cf. Vergil, Aen.6.333 - mortis honore carentis.
 Lines 28-30 echo Seneca, Oedip.56-59.
 Line 45: cf. Vergil, Aen.1.261 - quando haec te cura remordet.
 Line 86: cf. Ovid, Trist.3.10.31-32 - undas / frigore concretas.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 85 Cf. the doom of Lydia: Claudian, Contr. Eutr. 2.296-300.
- 86 Claudian, Contr. Eutr. 2.462-465.
- 87 Claudian, Contr. Rufin. 2.61-68.
- 88 Claudian, De bell. Gild. 1.198-200; Contr. Eutr. 1.243-251.
- 89 Tardi, p.200.
- 90 Corippus, In laud. Just. min., Pref. 9, 27-28; 1.130; 2.80, 156, 381; 3.141, 265.
- 91 Gregory, HF 6.2.
- 92 S. Blomgren, "In Venantii Fortunati carmina adnotationes novae" (Eranos 69, 1971) pp. 133-135.
- 93 Procopius, De bell. Goth. 4.17. For comment on the availability of silk in Merovingian Gaul and the trade routes from the East, see E. Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne (Paris 1959) vol.1, pp.101, 134-135, 165.
- 94 See Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.104; S. Caesarii Regulae, c.14 (PL 67) p.109.
- 95 For comment, see Meyer, p.136-137.
- 96 See Koebner, p.134.
- 97 Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.10.
- 98 Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.7.
- 99 For discussion, see chapter 3.
- 100 See Vita Droctovei Abbatis Parisiensis (MGH SRM vol.3) pp.535-543.
- 101 Fortunatus, Vita S. Mart. 4.637.
- 102 Duchesne, vol.2, p.471.
- 103 Baudonivia, Vita Rad. 2.23.
- 104 Fortunatus, Poems 5.9.13-14, 5.11.9-10.
- 105 Fortunatus, Poems 3.21.11-12, 3.22a.13-14.
- 106 Gregory, HF 9.39.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 107 Fortunatus, Poem 3.4.12.
- 108 Gregory, HF 9.39. Fortunatus also dedicated his Vita Albini to the bishop.
- 109 See p.188 f.
- 110 See Leo's note ad loc. (MGH AA, vol.4) p.286.
- 111 Fortunatus, Vita Rad. 1.2.
- 112 See p.37 f.
- 113 For comment on this "kitchen humour", see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1953) pp.431-435.
- 114 For comment on this aspect of the nuns' literary activity, see P. Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1984) pp.27-28.
- 115 Line 12: cf. Vergil, Georg.4.142 - quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbor / induit.
- 116 See Leo's note ad loc. (MGH AA vol.4) p.284.
- 117 Line 1: cf. Claudian, Bell.Poll.60 - Aquilo glacie constringit harenas.
- 118 For the odour of sanctity and various virtues of the living, see chapter 5, note 91.
- 119 For the celebration of an installation as a natalicium, see chapter 4, note 64.
- 120 Horace, Carm.1.1.2.
- 121 For such kitchen humour, see note 113, above. For comment on the use of eulogia to refer to gifts of food and drink, see C.Nisard, Venance Fortunat, Poésies mêlées traduites pour la première fois (Paris 1887) p.265.
- 122 For example, Martial, Ep.7.31, 7.91; Pliny, Ep.5.2; Ausonius, Ep. 18.7-9, 25, 33, 34; cf. Fortunatus, Poems 11.13, 11.17, 11.18, App.9.
- 123 See note 118.
- 124 For this symbolism, see chapter 5, note 89.

Notes on Chapter Six

- 125 Sedulius, Carm. Pasc. 2.114.
- 126 For example, in Poems 11.8 and 11.16.
- 127 For an account of Jerome, see J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome, His Life, Writings and Controversies (London 1975) especially chapters 10-12.
- 128 See von Moos, Testimonien, T625. A theme also found in Fortunatus, Poems 4.26.1, 6.4.1-2.
- 129 For example, the poem to Duke Lupus, Poem 7.8 (for discussion, see p.73 f.) and the poem of consolation to Ultrogotha, Poem 6.6 (for discussion, see p.247 f.)
- 130 Line 1: cf. Vergil, Georg.2.318; Ennodius, Ep.1.10.11, 1.24.1.
- 131 For example, App. 24.14, App.26.1, App.22.2
- 132 See von Moos, Testimonien, T625. For examples in Fortunatus, see Poems 4.26.1, 6.5.12.
- 133 See R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (Paris 1944) pp.55, 74.
- 134 For the view of education as leading to certain positions in society for men, see P. Riché, p.239.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 See Stroheker, pp.112-114. See also H. Wieruszowski, Die Zusammensetzung des Gallischen und Frankischen Episcopats bis zum Vertrag von Verdun (843) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nationalität und des Standes (Bonner Jahrbücher 127, 1922) pp.50-56, sect.2, "Das Nepotensystem im Gallischen Episkopat"; M. Heinzelmann, Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Koninuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert. Soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte (Munich 1976) passim.
- 2 Gregory, HF 5.49, though this comment may be an understandable exaggeration of Riculf's lowly origins.
- 3 For discussion, see Brennan, p.102.
- 4 See Gregory, HF 4.26. For discussion of another example, the episcopal elections in Clermont, see I. Wood, "Ecclesiastical Politics in Merovingian Clermont" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) pp.34-57.
- 5 Fortunatus, Poem 5.3.9-16.
- 6 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 7 Fortunatus, Poem 1.16.
- 8 Fortunatus, Poem 1.16.5.
- 9 See the descriptions of Felix of Bourges and Germanus of Paris who are seen as embodying in their generation the work of Old Testament figures, Felix being compared to Abel (Poem 3.20.6) and Germanus being hailed as alter Aaron (Poem 2.9.31). Felix of Nantes similarly outshines Solomon in his building work (Poem 3.6.1 f.).
- 10 See 2 Cor.10.4, 2 Tim.2.3-4. Gregory is a miles (Poem 5.3.43-44). Military imagery is also found in the portrayals of Martin of Braga (Poem 5.1.1), of Abbot Victor (Poem 4.11.5) and of Bishop Gallus of Clermont-Ferrand (Poem 4.4.11-12) etc.
- 11 For the bishop as shepherd, see Poems 3.3.27-30, 3.11.3 and 19-20, 3.12.19-20, etc. For the bishop as a worker in a vineyard, see Poem 5.3.25-28.
- 12 For example, Poem 5.18.5-6.
- 13 For example, Poems 3.2.3, 3.24.3-4, 4.8.13-16.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 14 Poem 4.3.11-12. For a bishop's charity, see Poems 3.14.19, 4.3.11, 4.7.13-14, 4.8.17. For his charity, especially to travellers, see Poems 3.3.19-20, 3.13.29-32, 4.10.14, 9.9.21, etc.
- 15 For discussion, see Brennan, pp.159-168.
- 16 For comments on the development of local cults and their connection with the influence of a bishop, see P. Brown, Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours (The Stenton Lecture 1976, Reading 1977) and The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago 1981); I.N. Wood, "Early Merovingian Devotion in Town and Country" (Studies in Church History 16, 1979) pp.61-76.
- 17 See E.Le Blant, Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule (Paris 1856) vol.1, pp.257-258. For example, Poems 10.5 and 10.
- 18 Acta pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium, ed. G. Busson and A. Lendru (Archives historiques du Maine, vol.2, Le Mans 1902); for other examples, p.103 in the same volume and Gregory, Gl.Conf. c.79.
- 19 See Gregory, Vita S. Mart. 2.29.
- 20 See Meyer, p.37, on Poems 3.8 and 9.
- 21 For example, Fortunatus, Poem 1.5, and in all probability Poem 10.6.
- 22 Fortunatus, Poem 1.14.
- 23 Fortunatus, Poem 3.20. See A.A. King, Eucharistic reservation in the Western Church (London 1965) pp.28-29 and 40-42.
- 24 See above, p.193 f.
- 25 Fortunatus, Poem 3.10.
- 26 Fortunatus, Poems 3.12 and 13. For comment, see N. Gauthier, L'évangélisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.172-180, 209-218.
- 27 Fortunatus, Poem 3.15.
- 28 Fortunatus, Poem 3.23.1-4.
- 29 Gregory, HF 9.8
- 30 Gregory, HF 5.49 and 9.20.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 31 Fortunatus, Poems 3.17 and 18.
- 32 See above, p.175 f.
- 33 For discussion, see above, p.183 f.
- 34 For discussion, see above, p.182.
- 35 See Marquise de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) p.91, who believes that Poems 1.8 and 9 refer to the same building. The arguments of B. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy that Poem 1.8 refers to a restoration, Poem 1.9 to a new building, are convincing; see "Les deux poèmes de Fortunat en l'honneur de Saint Vincent (Lib.1.8 and 9)" (Études Mérovingiennes, Actes des journées de Poitiers 1952, Paris 1953) pp.127-134.
- 36 Gregory, HF 3.29.
- 37 Fortunatus, Poem 1.9.15-16.
- 38 Fortunatus, Poem 1.9.15-18.
- 39 Cf. the similar tactics of Martin of Tours: Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Mart. 13.9 and Gregory, Gl. Conf. c.2.
- 40 Fortunatus, Poem 1.11.8-10. De Maillé suggests as a likely site St. Denis-de-Piles, on L'Isle in the Entre Dordogne, 35 kilometres from Bordeaux. See Marquise de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) p.75.
- 41 For the bishops, see Duchesne, vol.2, p.72. On the churches, see M. Viellard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) nos. 276-278, pp.280-282; Marquise de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) p.90 f.; E. Griffe, "Un évêque de Bordeaux au VI^e siècle: Leonce le Jeune" (Bull. de littérature ecclésiastique 64, 1963) pp.63-71.
- 42 Gregory, HF 4.26.
- 43 Marquise de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) p.93; L. Maurin, Saintes Antique des origines à la fin du VI^e siècle après Jésus Christ (Saintes 1978) p.358.
- 44 See Le Blant, Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule (Paris 1956) vol.2, nos. 580 and 581, pp.326-365.
- 45 See Brennan, pp.177-179.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 46 Fortunatus, Poems 1.12.13-14, 1.15.92-108, 1.17.
- 47 See Marquise de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) pp.84-86.
- 48 See de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) pp.86-87.
- 49 See de Maillé, Recherches sur les origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux (Paris 1960) pp.87-88.
- 50 Fortunatus, Poems 1.18.1-4, 1.19.1-2, 1.20.7-8 and 11-16.
- 51 Fortunatus, Poems 1.19.11-18, 1.20.21-22.
- 52 Fortunatus, Poem 1.19.5-8, for the site. Lines 13-14 seem to describe a wall mosaic decorating a niche by a fountain, such as was found at the villa site of Euren by Trier: see E. M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) p.165.
- 53 See Pliny, Ep.2.17, 4.6, 5.6 etc.; Statius, Silv. 1.3, 2.2; Ausonius, Opusc. 3.1, Ep.26, Mosell.283-348; Sidonius, Ep.2.2, 2.9, 3.2, 8.4.
- 54 See the references in note 53. For comment, see J. Percival, The Roman Villa (London 1976), with special reference to the comments on the villas of Berthelming (Moselle), Pompagne (Lot-et-Garonne) and St. Aubin-sur-Mer (Normandy).
- 55 See J. Percival, The Roman Villa (London 1976) p.169.
- 56 Sidonius, Carm. 2.22. See E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) p.169.
- 57 E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) p.169. These may well be the culmina prisca which so impressed Fortunatus on his river journey, Poem 8.2.23-24.
- 58 See E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London 1970) pp.64-67.
- 59 Gregory, HF 3.16, Vita S. Jul. c.14.
- 60 See J. Goody, The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe (Cambridge 1984) pp.109-118. For example, Bishop Bertram of Le Mans, dying before 623, left 35 estates to the church. See G. Busson and A. Lendru, Acta pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium (Archives historiques du Maine, Le Mans 1902) vol.2, pp.101-141.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 61 Fortunatus, Poem 9.16.11-18; Gregory, HF 6.20.
- 62 Fortunatus, Poems 1.18.7-8, 1.19.16, 1.20.22.
- 63 Fortunatus, Poem 1.18.7-8.
- 64 Fortunatus, Poem 1.19.15-16.
- 65 Fortunatus, Poem 1.20.23.
- 66 For example, Vergil, Aen.7.563, 1.158; Ovid, Met.1.568; Claudian, Carm.5.1; Sidonius, Carm.2.407. On the topos of the grove and the locus amoenus, see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.194 f.
- 67 Vergil, Georg.1.146.
- 68 Nature is miraculously tamed to provide spectacular surroundings for villas in Statius, Silv.1.3.13-15, 2.2.25-29. The villa is an improvement on nature: Statius, Silv.2.2.32-33, 52-53, 55-58. Pliny keeps the elements at a distance and appreciates his cultivated estates: Ep.2.17, 5.6. Ausonius and Sidonius likewise have well-worked estates (Ausonius, Ep.27.90-98 and Opusc.3.1.17-28; Sidonius, Ep.2.2.19) and Ausonius relegates the dangers of Nature to the Hellespont or Atlantic (Mosell.144-149, 292-293). Even the fierce waves round the Burgus Pontii Leontii are an addition to the defences of the fortress rather than a threat to its occupants (Sidonius, Carm.2.22.127-135).
- 69 Ausonius, Mosell.18-22, 298-348.
- 70 R. Williams, The Country and the City (London 1973) chapter 6.
- 71 In Carolingian times art historians can talk of a "Carolingian Renaissance", a deliberate attempt to recreate elements of what was seen then as a bygone and discrete era: see, for example, W. Oakeshott, Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art (London 1959) pp.1-41. The attitude of Leontius and Fortunatus, however, might indicate a similar "Merovingian Renaissance".
- 72 For example, the oratory of Traseric: Fortunatus, Poem 2.13. For the concern of the church to keep control of these centres of worship, see Conc. Epaon. (517) canon 25 (MGH Legum3, Conc.1) p.25.
- 73 Sidonius, Ep.8.4.1, Carm.22.118.
- 74 See above, p.193.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 75 C. Nisard, Venance Fortunat. Poésies mêlées traduites en français pour la première fois (Paris 1887) p.87, suggests that Felix' missive is prose only. His translation of this passage begins:
Pareil au tissu serré d'une ode pindarique mise en prose,
votre discours
However, the reference to Horace and the word tetrastrophe indicate verse rather than prose.
- 76 See Gregory, HF 4.28 for a contemporary example.
- 77 For discussion see below.
- 78 For the survival of Greek in Merovingian Gaul, see P. Courcelle, Les lettres Grecques en Occident (Paris 1948) chapter 3, "La culture Grecque en Gaule", especially pp.249-253; P. Riché, pp.44-48.
- 79 Gregory, HF 6.9.
- 80 Gregory, HF 9.39.
- 81 Duchesne, vol.2, p.358.
- 82 Fortunatus, Poem 11.25.9-10.
- 83 Duchesne, vol.2, p.345. He was married with a daughter, Domnola, whose death is recorded by Gregory, HF 8.32, 8.43.
- 84 He was made bishop of Le Mans by Lothar (Gregory, HF 6.9) and died in 581 after 22 years as a bishop. Duchesne, vol.2, p.337.
- 85 Gregory, HF 8.31.
- 86 For comment, see E. Mâle, La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) p.163.
- 87 See Vulgate, 2 Chron.7.1.
- 88 E. Male, La fin du paganisme en Gaule and les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes (Paris 1950) p.168.
- 89 Cf. Prudentius, Cath. 9.14.
- 90 See the poet's similar use of the word machina in Poem 1.19.9.
- 91 See above, p.178.
- 92 For the old/young topos, see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.98 f.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 93 Vergil, Aen. 7.6.
- 94 Ovid, Met. 3.110.
- 95 See N. Gauthier, L'évangélisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) p.205.
- 96 MGH 3, Ep. Austr. no.7, p.118. For comment on Nicetius, see N. Gauthier, L'évangélisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.172-189. For his building work, see M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.326, pp.329-331 and N. Gauthier, as cited, pp.181-189, and Plate IX no.1 for a plan of his castellum.
- 97 For comment on Nicetius' work for the reformation of the church and secular leadership, see R. Collins, "Theodebert I, Rex Magnus Francorum" in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983) p.18 f.
- 98 See note 68 above, for passages seeing contrast between Nature and man.
- 99 Vergil, Georg.3.330.
- 100 Cf. the tone of the poem to Dynamius, Poem 6.9. For discussion, see chapter 8.
- 101 Note the present tenses in the initial description in lines 1-30 and nunc in line 45, for reference to the presence of spring at the time of writing.
- 102 For example, Ovid, Met.6.392-400, Met.8.777.
- 103 See Vulgate, Matth.10.29-31.
- 104 Fortunatus, Poem 7.8. For discussion, see p.73 f.
- 105 *Distinctus, lustrare, favere, mollis, pingere, virere* and so on are all words evocative of the classical pastoral scene or of nature description stemming directly from the tradition established by the Augustan poets.
- 106 Vergil, Ecl.4.18.
- 107 Floriger is not found before the third century; see, for example, Carm.Epigr.1233.18. It is used several times by Sedulius: Carm. Pasch.2.2, 2.1. Ignivomus is applied to the sun by Lactantius: Serm. de resurr. Dom.3. Lactans can be found in Jerome (in Os .5.6-7) and Ennodius (Carm.1.4.9). For Fortunatus' use of these authors, see Leo's Index.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 108 Paulinus of Nola, Carm.14,18 and 23.
- 109 For verbal echoes of Paulinus of Nola in Fortunatus, see S. Blomgren, "De Venantio Fortunato Vergilii aliorumque poetarum imitatore" (Eranos 42, 1944) p.88.
- 110 Paulinus of Nola, Carm. 14.1.
- 111 In Paulinus' verse, Carm.14.47, cf. Vergil, Aen.5.844; Carm.18.18, cf. Ovid, Fast. 3.363; Carm. 23.1, cf. Ovid, Fast. 4. 87; Carm. 23.29, cf. Culex 390.
- 112 See B. Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidentale, 430-1096 (Paris 1960) sect.3, "La polemique Judeo-Chrétienne", pp.213-290.
- 113 Note in this passage, the high point of the poem, the echoes of Vergil and Sedulius. See S. Blomgren, "De Venantio Fortunato Vergilii aliorumque poetarum priorum imitatore" (Eranos 42, 1944) p.82.
- 114 See above, p.83 f.
- 115 Gregory, HF 5.13.
- 116 Gregory, HF 4.35 and 5.11.
- 117 Gregory, HF 9.30.
- 118 For example, Gregory, HF 8.7.
- 119 For example, Gregory, HF 5.18 and the Vita S. Bibiani (MGH SRM vol.3) p.97.
- 120 See Gregory, HF 9.20. Fortunatus, Poem 10.28, De Prandio Defensoris, was written for such an Easter feast.
- 121 See above, p.58.
- 122 Gregory, HF 10.31. See M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.309, pp.304-306.
- 123 See M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.310, pp.306-307.
- 124 See M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après Grégoire de Tours (Paris 1976) no.311, p.307.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 125 For the practice of providing travellers with letters of introduction, see Sidonius, Ep.3.4, 3.10, 5.1, 5.15, 6.5 etc. Priests and deacons were required by canon law to carry a letter of introduction from their bishop, so that they might be admitted to communion in strange cities; see Conc.Epaon. (517) canon 6, and Conc. Turon. (567) canon 6 (MGH Legum 3, Conc.1) pp.20 and 123. Bishops gave epistolia, ecclesiastical letters of recommendation: Vit. Patr.8.9. But Fortunatus' letters are clearly personal and unofficial.
- 126 The complaint of the father, reading indice in line 11, was that there were no witnesses produced in court. If we read iudex in line 15, it would appear that there was no judge either. It would seem plausible to read index in line 15 also.
- 127 Gregory, HF 5.49.
- 128 Cf. Fortunatus' action in writing Poem 5.16, where he raises with Bishop Syagrius of Autun the plight of a poor man with a captive son, offering a poem (Poem 5.17) if Syagrius will ransom the man.
- 129 Cf. also Fortunatus, Poems 5.3.3-6, 5.4.2, 5.8b.5-6, 5.9.5-6, 5.10.6.
- 130 See Fortunatus, Poems 5.8a.1, 5.8b.2 and 10, 5.11.8, 5.12.7 etc.
- 131 See Meyer, p.127.
- 132 Fortunatus, Poem 5.6.7.
- 133 Sidonius, Ep.9.13.2 (carm. 7), Ep.9.15.25-34, Carm.23.450-454.
- 134 Horace, Carm.1.2, 10, 12 etc.
- 135 Sidonius, Ep.9.16.1-20; Fortunatus, Poem 9.6.25-28.
- 136 For the use of this image, see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. E.R. Trask (London 1979) p.128 f.
- 137 For example, Catullus, Carm.35, cf. Carm.42; Ausonius, Ep.12 (carm.1-3).
- 138 For example, Catullus, 61.202-206.
- 139 As, for example, Jerome did. See chapter 6, note 27. See also P. Fabre, Saint Paulin de Nole et l'Amitié Chrétienne (Paris 1949), chapter 3.

Notes on Chapter Seven

- 140 For such gifts of land to friends and dependants, see E. Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France: vol.1, Epoques Romaine et Mérovingienne (Lille-Paris 1910) p.330.
- 141 Vergil, Ecl.8.10.
- 142 Fortunatus, Poems 9.6.1, 8.19.2.
- 143 For discussion, see Chapter 6.
- 144 Gregory, HF 10.15.
- 145 Stroheker, no.208.
- 146 Gregory, HF 10.15.

NOTES ON CHAPTER EIGHT

- 1 Gregory, HF 8.31.
- 2 Leo expresses doubt in his Index Personarum: see under Gallomagnus. At least there cannot be any connection with Childbert II's Referendary of that name, banished for plotting against Faileuba and Brunhild in 588/9 (Gregory, HF 9.38). Though Referendaries did become bishops (for example, Ultrogotha's Referendary became Bishop of Cahors: Gregory, HF 5.42), the chronology would be awkward. See Duchesne, vol.2, p.454, who only notes the two Councils he attended to date his reign.
- 3 Gregory, HF 8.22.
- 4 Gregory, HF 10.2.
- 5 Gregory, HF 10.2.
- 6 Gregory, HF 6.45.
- 7 Cf. the poems addressed to Leontius and Placidina (Poems 1.9-21); to the brothers, Lupus and Magnulf (Poems 7.7-10); to Flavus and Evodius (Poems 7.18 and 19); to Sigismund and Alagisil (Poems 7.20 and 21).
- 8 For words as food, see Poems 3.13b, 3.15.21-24, 7.2.1-4, 7.8.43-44, 7.15.5-8, 11.12.3-6, 11.16.5-10 etc. For alimentary metaphors, see E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) pp.134-136.
- 9 Especially in view of the phrase aeterna luce in line 30; cf. the description of Avitus in Poem 5.5.125-126, and of the apostles in Poem 3.7.5-6.
- 10 Poem 7.8. For discussion, see p.73 f.
- 11 For praise of beauty, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) pp.180-182.
- 12 Vergil, Aen.7.495. For another Vergilian echo, cf. line 19 with Vergil, Aen.5.119, urbis opus.
- 13 See Vulgate, Psalm 23 (22), v.5.
- 14 Poem 7.8. For discussion, see p.73 f.
- 15 Vergil, Aen. 8.198-199.
- 16 On kitchen humour, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) pp.431-435. For other examples in Fortunatus, see Poems 6.8, 11.23, 11.10.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 17 For discussion, see p.73 f.
- 18 For discussion, see p.200 f.
- 19 For discussion, see p.74.
- 20 See pp.47 and 93 f.
- 21 Fortunatus, Poem 7.1.35.
- 22 Fortunatus, Poem 7.1.41-42 and Pseudo-Fredegair (MGH SRM vol.2) 3.59, p.109.
- 23 Riche¹ notes the difficulty of interpreting this reference. See Riche¹, p.238 and note 414. Even if the passage does not refer to Gogo's later attested position as *nutricius* to Childebert II, it seems to depict him as carrying out the duties of a *major domus*, those of organising court life.
- 24 Gregory, HF 5.46.
- 25 There are four letters from him in this capacity: Ep.Austr. (MGH Ep.vol.3) nos. 13,16, 22 and 48, pp.127-128, 130, 134-135, 152-153. Letter 13 does not name the king on whose behalf he was writing. It is possible that Gogo's elevation was early and that the king was Sigibert. In that case, his later appointment as *nutricius* is further consolidation of an influential position already attained.
- 26 Gregory, HF 5.46.
- 27 Gregory, HF 6.1. Pseudo-Fredegair, 3.59, mistakenly speaks of a rift between Brunhild and Gogo after her arrival from Spain and the murder of the courtier by the queen. See MGH SRM, vol.2, p.109.
- 28 See Ep.Austr. (MGH Ep. vol.3) no.13, pp.127-128.
- 29 See Ep.Austr. (MGH Ep. vol.3) no.13, p.128, line 19; no.16, p.130, line 23 f.
- 30 See D. Norberg, "Ad epistulas varias merovingici aevi adnotationes" (*Eranos* 35, 1937) p.111.
- 31 Gregory, HF 3.36. See also Stroheker, no.238. For comment, see Riche¹, pp.26, 34 and 185. For the date of his death, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, trs. J-R. Palanque (Paris 1949-1959) vol.2, excursus N, p.816.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 32 This Traseric is probably the recipient of Fortunatus' Poem 2.13, *De oratorio Traserici*, and is identified by Gauthier as Bishop of Verdun. See N. Gauthier, L'évangelisme des pays de la Moselle (Paris 1980) pp.232-233.
- 33 On the date of the poems, Poem 7.1. is clearly written soon after Fortunatus' arrival in Gaul and the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild (see the discussion of the poem). Poems 7.2 and 3 cannot be dated. Poem 7.4 refers to Gogo being applauded by the scola following in his train (lines 25-26) and speaks of him as administering justice side by side with Duke Lupus (lines 27-30). Riché suggests that this use of scola may refer simply to an entourage, and not to his position as *nutricius* to Childebert II (Riché, p.238, note 414). This would suggest an early date, rather than one at a later stage when Fortunatus had left Metz and was writing from Poitiers. It has been suggested that the congratulations to Lupus in Poem 7.7 were for his appointment as *dux*, probably in 567/8 (see p.200 f.). If that is so, we might date this poem to that same period, when Lupus was at the court in Metz, i.e.567/8.
- 34 Ovid, *Met.*10.145.
- 35 Both these metaphors have biblical and classical antecedents. For *mel* as eloquence, see Vulgate, *Prov.*16.24, *Cant.**Cant.*4.11; Horace, *Ep.*1.19.44; Ovid, *Pont.*4.29; Sedulius, *Carm.**Pasch.*1.13. For Fortunatus' use, see Poems 7.9.11-12, *App.*22.21-22, *App.*31.1-3. For *sal* as the seasoning of wit, see Catullus, *Carm.*86.4, 16.7; Horace, *Sat.*1.10.3 etc. For Fortunatus' use, see Poem 3.5, *sect.*1 etc. On alimentary metaphors, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979), pp.134-136.
- 36 Cf. Fortunatus, Poems 7.5.29-30, 5.5.125-126, though this latter passage, Poem 3.7.5-6, has more specifically religious overtones.
- 37 See Poems 6.1.89-98, 6.1a.17-18 and 25-26, 6.2.25-26 and 35-44, 9.1.137-146. For discussion of these poems and of the reflection of *Radegund's* views, see chapter 3 and chapter 6, p.307 f.
- 38 For discussion of this point, see A.B. Cook, "The Bee in Greek Mythology" (Journal of Hellenic Studies 15, 1895) pp.1-24, and A. Sauvage, "Les insectes dans la poésie romaine" (Latomus 29, 1976) pp.274-287. The Vergilian echo might be intensified for Fortunatus if he was aware of *Phocas'* reference to Vergil himself in these terms: see *Phocas, Vita Focae*, lines 29-30. See also R.F. Thomas, Lands and People in Roman Poetry: the Ethnographical Tradition (Cambridge Philological Society, *Supp.*vol.7, Cambridge 1982) chapter 3, "Of Bees, Orpheus and Men: the Fourth Georgic", pp.70-92.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 39 See Clement of Alexandria, Strom.1.1; Basil the Great, Address to Young Men, 7.8.4; Athanasius, Vita Anth. (PG 26) pp.844-845, lines 3-4.
- 40 Fortunatus, Poems 7.8.11 and 7.9.7.
- 41 Gregory, HF 6.45, 7.9-10, 32 and 39.
- 42 Gregory, HF 4.27.
- 43 See notes 8 and 34, above.
- 44 These lines may be translated as follows:
 But forgive me; I am sitting quietly, bloated with beef, and my stomach protests, if beef is added to andrages there (or, punctuating after mixta, "and rages if beef is added"). Here, where the ox lies down, I think a chicken and a goose will flee; the rage of horns and wings will not be equally matched.
 Cf. Poem 7.14 for such "kitchen humour".
- 45 See Meyer, p.87; Koebner, pp.120-125.
- 46 Ausonius, Ep.14.16 ff.
- 47 Ausonius, Ep.27.124 ff.
- 48 Sidonius, Ep.5.14.
- 49 Sidonius, Carm.16.91 ff.
- 50 For the possible identity of these rivers, see C. Nisard, Venance Fortunat. Poésies mêlées traduites en français pour la première fois (Paris 1887) p.191, note 3 on this poem.
- 51 See note 33 for comment on Gogo's possible status at court.
- 52 For comment on the duties of a dux, see chapter 4, note 76.
- 53 Ausonius, Ep.14.28 f.
- 54 Sidonius, Ep.1.2.4-5.
- 55 For Dynamius, see Stroheker, no.108; for Iovinus, see Stroheker, no.205. For comment on this literary circle, see Riché, pp.184-189.
- 56 For Marseilles under Sigibert, see Gregory, HF 4.43. For the transition from Guntram to Chilperic II, see Gregory, HF 6.33, 8.12.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 57 See R. Buchner, Die Provence in Merowingischer Zeit (Stuttgart 1933) pp.6-29.
- 58 See p. 44 f.
- 59 Fortunatus, Poem 6.10.67-70.
- 60 Gregory, HF 4.27. The correspondence between Dynamius (assuming him to be this Dynamius) and Bishop Villicus of Metz, recently consecrated at the time of the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild, may well stem from this contact: Ep. Austr. (MGH Ep.vol.3) no.17, pp.435-436.
- 61 See p.16 f.
- 62 Gregory, HF 6.7.
- 63 Gregory, HF 6.11.
- 64 If we read, with Krusch, Sapaudus felix, and not, with Leo, Sapaudus Felix, a name otherwise unknown. See Krusch's note in the Index Personarum, on Sapaudus. It is possible that Sapaudus Felix are two distinct names, Sapaudus being the eminent bishop, Felix possibly the original owner of the erudite but ill-starred slave, Andarchius (Gregory, HF 4.46). This suggestion is attractive in that it offers a plausible identification for both names. Sapaudus is, however, left without any complimentary epithet on this reading. This seems unlikely, given Fortunatus' tact and the fact that all the others mentioned are thus briefly complimented.
- 65 Gregory, HF 4.43.
- 66 Gregory, Hf 6.7.
- 67 Gregory, HF 6.11.
- 68 Fortunatus, Poems 6.9.1, 6.10.33-34.
- 69 Gregory, HF 6.11, 9.11.
- 70 See Stroheker, no.108; and Avitus, Carm.31 (MGH AA 6.2) p.194.
- 71 Quoted in H. Keil, Grammatici Latini (Leipzig 1885-1880) vol.5, p.579, lines 13-14. For comment, see Riche, p.175.
- 72 Ep.Austr. (MGH Ep.vol.3) nos.12,17, pp.127 and 130-131.
- 73 For discussion, see chapter 2, note 37.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 74 Migne, PL 80, col.31 ff.
- 75 See E. Baehrens, Poetae Latini (Leipzig 1883) vol.5, p.361 ff. For Eucheria, see Stroheker, no.118. For comment on her, see Riché, pp.186-187.
- 76 Cf., for example, Vergil, Ecl.3.73. Fortunatus uses the same motif in Poems 3.26.8 and 7.4.1.
- 77 Horace, Carm.1.3.8 and 2.17.5, with the notes in the editions of R.G.M. Nisbet and H. Hubbard (Oxford 1970 and 1978) ad loc.
- 78 See von Moos, Testimonien, T131-135.
- 79 For comment, see p.237 f. and G. Davis, "Ad sidera notus: Strategies of Lament and Consolation in Fortunatus' De Gelesuintha" (Agon 1, 1967) pp.125-127.
- 80 Claudian, Cons.Prob. et Olybr.231.
- 81 See Vergil, Aen.4.8, 7.335.
- 82 See Vergil, Aen.5.739, Georg.1.250. Both of these passages similarly refer to personifications of time and place.
- 83 See Fortunatus, Poem 5.19 - opto - to Aredius; Poem 5.7 - sentio - to Felix of Nantes; Poem 11.4 - aspexi - to Radegund and Agnes; Poem 11.17 - composui - to Radegund and Agnes; Poem 11.16 - nescivi - to Radegund and Agnes; App.30 - audiui - to Agnes. Cf. also App.22 - si nequeo - to Agnes. For comment on Fortunatus' friendship with Felix, see p.193 f. Abbot Aredius of Limoges was known and admired by Gregory of Tours who described his life and works in HF 10.29 and derived the information for his Vita Nicetii from him: see Vita Patr.no.17, pref. Fortunatus addressed Aredius in Poems 5.19 and 6.7.2, and sent him loving greetings from Radegund and Agnes in Poem 5.19.11-12.
- 84 Cf. also Catullus, Carm. 68.62.
- 85 Cf. Catullus, Carm.5; Ovid, Ars Am.3.63 f., where time is similarly maliciously hostile to lovers.
- 86 There are slight echoes here of the Vergilian Culex. The use of latex in lines 18 and 20 is perhaps reminiscent of the phrase in the Culex, Pierii laticis decus (line 18). Unda Camenae in line 17 is reminiscent of Castaliae ... unda in Culex, line 17.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 87 The adjective *duilanx*, presumably equalling *bilanx* and meaning "well-balanced", is one of a number of words not found elsewhere and taken as poetic inventions by the poet by Tardi and Clerici: see Tardi, pp.220-224, and E. Clerici, "Note sulla lingua di Venanzio Fortunato" (Rendiconti d'Istituto Lombardo Accademia de scienze e lettere; Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, vol.104, 1970) p.235.
- 88 Poem 7.8.50.
- 89 *amori*, line 1; *amoris*, line 11; *care*, line 34; *dulcis amice*, line 64.
- 90 See P. Fabre, Saint Paulin de Nole et l'Amitié Chrétienne (Paris 1949) chapter 3, pp.137-154.
- 91 See Vulgate, Matth.13, *de seminante in agro*. *Agellus* is elsewhere used literally, but for the metaphorical use of *ager*, see, for example, Jerome in Matth.13,24, p.92(i.e. his comment on the use of *ager*): *animus ... suspiciens gramen praedicationis ... facit in agro sui pectoris pullulare*. For such use of the metaphor of ploughing a field, see E. Curtius, "European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages", trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.131 f.
- 92 Gregory, HF 4.43.
- 93 Gregory, HF 6.7.
- 94 Gregory, HF 6.11.
- 95 Stroheker, no.205.
- 96 For comment, see note 45, above.
- 97 Ovid, *Ars Am.* 3.364; cf. Fortunatus' use of the word in Poem 6.5.3, *De Gelesuintha*.
- 98 See Vergil, *Aen.*10.472; Ovid, *Trist.*1.9.1; cf. Ovid, *Ars Am.*2.727, *Am.*3.15.2.
- 99 See von Moos, Testimonien, T527, 547-551. See Fortunatus, Poem 9.1.63-64, 4.26.155-156.
- 100 See von Moos, Testimonien, T561.
- 101 For example, Fortunatus, Poem 9.2. See von Moos, Testimonien, T560.
- 102 Ovid, *Met.* 13.281.

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 103 Horace, Carm. 1.1.12, 2.18.5.
- 104 Vergil, Aen. 10.180.
- 105 Nisard comments on this example that he can only understand speed as a particular attribute here in the sense of quickness of mind, i.e. the cunning with which Romulus deceived Remus. See C. Nisard, Venance Fortunat, Poésies mêlées traduites en français pour la première fois (Paris 1887) ad loc. on this passage. This is not entirely convincing and the reference remains puzzling.
- 106 These latter - Vergil, Menander, Homer and an unidentifiable fourth - are an interesting comment on the "top four" authors familiar to Fortunatus and his audience.
- 107 Horace, Carm. 3.30.1. For the idea of immortality through poetry, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trs. W.R. Trask (London 1979) p.476 f.
- 108 Cf. Fortunatus' exempla in Poems 9.2.13-40, 10.2.6-7. See von Moos, Testimonien, T562.
- 109 See P. Brown, The Cult of the Saints (Chicago 1981) chapter 4; Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours (Stenton Lecture, Reading 1976) p.4 f.
- 110 See the inscription quoted in E. Le Blant, Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule (Paris 1856) vol.1, no.178, p.240:
 Hic conditus est sanctae memoriae Martinus episcopus
 cuius anima in manu Dei est sed hic totus est
 praesens manifestus omni gratia virtutum.
 (Here is laid Bishop Martin of holy memory, whose spirit is in the hands of God but here is entirely present and manifest in all the merit of his virtues).
- 111 He speaks of the literal scent of the apples planted by Childebit I, with the overtones of such metaphorical implications: Poem 6.6.15-16 (for discussion, see p.247). Twice he uses this imagery about Radegund, in Poems 8.6.12 and 8.7.20. Beautiful scent is often specified as a feature of Paradise: see Sedulius, Carm. Pasch. 5.222-225; Acta S. Perpetuae c.11; Prudentius, Call.5.113-114 etc. For discussion, see C. Joret, La rose dans l'antiquité (Geneva 1970) p.235. Flowers are traditionally for Christians, as for pagans, offerings on the tombs of the dead: see Prudentius, Hymnus circ. exsequ. defunct. (Cath.10) 169-172; Peristeph.3, str.42-44, etc. Scent and flowers are also especially associated with the tombs of the dead saints, as in the case of St. Julian (Gregory, Virt.S.Jul.c.46, cf. Gl.Conf.40).

Notes on Chapter Eight

- 112 See P. Brown, The Cult of the Saints (Chicago 1981) p.71.
- 113 See E. Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne (Paris 1949) vol.1, p.213.
- 114 Vergil, Georg.4.499-500; cf. Aen.5.750. Cf. also Horace, Carm.4.7.16.
- 115 Blomgren's emendation of metu to muto, with the force of silentio, takes the edge of this plea. See S. Blomgren, "In Venantii Fortunati carmina adnotationes novae" (Eranos 69, 1971) p.126. In sense metu follows the feeling of the preceeding lines better: muto susurro seems a weakening of the tension.
- 116 See Vergil, Aen.4.83-85. For the similar treatment of the separation of Dynamius and Fortunatus see above. For the poet's use of such images of loss, see G. Davis, "Ad sidera notus: Strategies of Lament and Consolation in Fortunatus' De Gelesuintha" (Agon 1, 1967) pp.125-127.
- 117 See note 90, above.
- 118 For discussion of this use of agellus, see note 91, above.
- 119 See note 35, above.

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